

THE BO
C O P I E O F A

LETTER, VVRYTEN BY A
MASTER OF ARTE. OF CAMBRIGE,
TO HIS FRIEND IN LONDON; CON-
cerning some talke past of late betvven tivo vvor-
shipful and graue men, about the present state, and
some procedinges of the Erle of Leycester and
his friendes in England.

CONCEYVED, SPOKEN
and publyshed, vvyth most earnest protes-
tation of al duetyful good vvyll and affe-
ction, tovvardes her most excellent Ma.
and the Realm, for vvwhose good onely it is
made common to many.

Iob. Cap. 20. Vers. 27.

Reuelabunt coeli iniquitatem eius, & terra consurget
aduersus eum.

The heauens shal reueile the vvicked mans iniqui-
tie, and the earth shal stand vp to beare vvitness
agaynst hym.

ANNO M. D. LXXXIIII.



THE EPISTLE
DIRECTORIE.

TO M. G. M. IN GRATIOUS
Street in London.



DEare & louing friend, I re-
ceiued about ten daies gone,
your letter of the 9. of this
presēt: vvhērī you demaund
& sollicite againe the thing,
that I so flatlie denied you, at my late being
in your chamber: I mean, to put in vwriting
the relation vvhich then I made vnto you,
of the speech had this last Christmas in my
presence, betvveen my right vvorshipful
good friend & Patron, & his gest the olde
lawvier, of some matters in our state &
countrie. And for that you presse me verie
seriously at this instant, both by request &
manie reasons, to yeeld to your desire herein,
& not onlie this, but also to giue my cōsent
for the publißhing of the same, by such secret
meanes as you assure me you can there finde
out: I haue thought good to cōfer the vvhole
mater vvith the parties them selues, vvhom
principalie it cōcerneth (vvho at the receipt

2 of your letter vvere not far of frō me:) And
albeit at the first, I found them auerse and
nothing inclined to graunt your demand: yet
after vpon cōsideration of your reasons, &
assurance of secresy: (especialie for that ther
is nothing in the same conteined repugnāt to
charity or to our boundē duety to vward our
most gracious Princeesse or coūtry, but rather
for the special good of them both, & for the
forvvarning of some dangers īminent to the
same) they haue referred ouer the mater to
me, yet vvith this PROVISIO that they vvil
know nothing, nor yet yeld cōsent to the pu-
blishing hereof, for feare of some futur flourish
of the Ragged Staft to come herafter about
their eares, if their names should break furth:
vvhich (I trust) you vvil prouide shal neuer
happen, both for their securitie, & for your
ovvn. And vvith this I vvil end, assuring
you that vvithin thes five or six daies, you
shal receiue the vvhole in vvriting by an
other vvay & secret meanes, neither shal
the bearer suspect vvhat he carieth: vvher-
of also I thought good to premonyshe you.
And this shal suffice for this tyme.

3
*THE PREFACE OF
THE CONFERENCE.*



Not long before the last Christ-
masse, I vvas requested by a letter
from a verye vvorshypfull and
graue gentleman, vvwhose sonne
vvas then my pupyle in Cam-
bridge, to repaire vvith my said
scholar, to a certain house of his neare London, and
ther to passe ouer the holie dayes in his companie;
for that it vvas determyned that in Hyllarye ter-
me folovving, his said sonne should be placed
in some Inne of Chauncerie, to folovv the studie of
the common lavv, and so to leaue the vniuersitie.
This request vvas grateful vnto me both in respect
of the tyme, as also of the mater, but especialie of
the companie. For that, as I loue much the yong
gentleman, my pupyle, for his tovvardlines in reli-
gion, learning, and vertue: so much more do I reue-
rence his father, for the riper possession of the same
ornamētes, & for his great vvifdom, experience, and
graue iudgement in affaires of the vvorld that do
ocurre: but namlie touching our ovvn countrie,
vvherin truelie I do not remember to haue heard
anie man in my lyfe, discourse more substantialie,
indifferentlie, & vvith lesse passion, more loue and
fidelitie then I haue heard him: VVhich vvas the
cause that I toke singular delite to be in his cōpanie,
& refused no occasion to enioie the same. VVhich
also he perceiuing, dealt more openlie & confident-
lie vvith me, then vvith many other of his friendes,
as by the relation folovving may vvell appeare.

SCHOL-
LAR.

The occa-
sion of
this con-
ference
and me-
ting.

The per
sons and
place of
this con
ference.

VWhen I came to the forsaide house by London, I found ther among other friendes, an auncient man that professed the law, and vvas come from London to kepe his Christmasse in that place, vvyth vvhom at diuers former tymes I had bene vvel acquainted, for that he haunted much the companie of the said gentleman my friend, and vvas much trusted and vsed by him in maters of his profession, and not a litle beloued also for his good conuersation, not vvythstanding some difference in religion betvven vs. For albeir, this lavvyer vvas inclined to be a Papist, yet vvas it vvyth such moderation and reseruation of his duetic tovvardes his Prince and countrie, and proceedinges of the same: as he seemed alvvaies to giue ful satisfaction in this point to vs that vvverev of contrarie opinion.

A Temperat
Papist

Nether did he let to protest often tymes vvyth great affection, that as he had manie friends and kinsfolke of cōtrarie religion to him self: so did he loue them neuer the lesse for their different conscience, but leauing that to God, vvas desirous to do them anie friendship or seruice that he could, vvyth al affection, zeale, and fidelitie. Neither vvas he vvilful or obstinat in his opinion, and much lesse reprochful in speech (as manie of them be) but vvas content to heare vvhatsocuer vve should say to the contrarie (as often vve did :) and to read anie booke also that vve delyuered hym, for hys instruction.

VWhich temperat behaviour, induced this gentleman & me, to affect the more his companie, & to discourse as freelic vvyth him in al occurrentes, as if he had bene of our ovvn religion.



THE ENTRAVNCE TO

THE MATTER.



NE day then of the Christmasse, vve three retiring our selues after dinner, into a large Gallerie, for our recreatiō, (as often vve vvere accustomed to do, vwhen other vvent to cardes and other pastimes :) this lavvier by chaunce

had in his hand a litle boke, then nevvlie set forth,

conteining *A defence of the publique iustyce done of late in Englande, vppon dyuers Pryestes and other Papystes for treason:*

The boke
of iustice

VVhich boke, the lavvyer had red to him self a litle before, & vvas novv putting it vp into his pocket, But the gentleman my friend, vwho had red ouer the same once or tvvice in my companie before, vvould needes take the same into his hand againe, & asked the lavvyer his iudgemēt vpon the boke,

The lavvier answered. That it vvas not euil pen- L A V V-
ned in his opiniō, to proue the guiltines of some per- Y E R.
sons therein named in particular, as also to persvvade
in general, that the Papistes both abroad & at home,
vvho medle so earnestlie vvith defence & encrease
of their religion (for thes are not al, said he) do cō-
sequentlie vvish and labour some chaunge in the
state: but yet vvwhether so far furth, & in so deep a de-
gre of proper treason, as here in this boke both in

A LETTER OF STATE

general and paticular is presumed and inforced, that(quoth he)is somvvhat hard(I vvenc)for you or me(in respect of some other differēce betvvenc vs) to iudge or discerne vvith indifferencie.

G E N -
T L E -
M A N .

Nay truelie said the gentleman, for my parte I think not so, for that reason is reason in vvhat religion so euer. And for my self, I may protest, that I beare the honest Papist (if ther be anie) no malice for his deceived cōscience, vvherof among others, your self can be a vvitnes: mary his Practizes against the state I cannot in anie vvise disgiest: and much lesse may the cōmon vvealth beare the same (vvher of vve al depend,) beyng a sinne of al other, the most heinous, and least perdonable. And therefore seing in this you graunt the Papist both in general abroad, & at home, and in particular such as are condemned, executed and named in this boke to be guiltie: hovv can you insinuate (as you do) that ther is more presumed or enforced vpon them by this boke, then ther is iust cause so to do.

The Pa
pistes
practizes
against
the state.

I A V V -
Y E R .

Good Sir, said the other, I stand not here to examine the doinges of my superiours, or to defend the guiltie, but vvish hartely rather their punishment that haue deserued the same. Onlie this I say, for explication of my former speech: that men of a different religion from the state vvherin they liue, may be said to deale against the same state in tvvv sortes: the one, by dealing for the encrease of their said different religion, vvwhich is alvvayes either directlie, or indirectlie against the state. [Directly] vvhen the said religion conteineth anie point or article directlie impugning the said state, (as perhappes you vvill saie that the Romane Religion doth against

Tvvv
sortes of
dealinge
against
the state

Directly

the present state of England in the point of Supremacie:) and [Indirectlie] for that euerie different religion deuideth in a sorte and dravveth from the state, in that ther is no man vvho in his hart vvould not vvish to haue the chiefe Gouvernour and state to be of his religion, if he could: and consequentlie misl keth the other in respect of that: and in this kinde, not onelie those vvho you cal busie Papistes in England, but also those vvhom vve cal hote Puritanes among you, (vvhose difference from the state especialie in maters of gouernment is verie vvell knovven,) may be called al traitors, in mine opiniō: for that euerie one of thes in deed, do labour īdirectlie, (if not more) against the state, in hovv much soeuer ech one ēdeuoreth to encrease his parte or factiō that desireth a gouernour of his ovvn religion.

And in this case also are the protestantes in Fraunce & Flaunders vnder Catholique Princes: the Calvinists (as they are called) vnder the Duke of Saxonie, vvho is a Lutherane: the Lutherans vnder Casimere, that fauoureth Calvinistes: the Grecians and other Christians vnder the Emperour of Constantinople, vnder the Sophie, vnder the Great Chame of Tartarie, and vnder other Princes that agree not vvith them in religion. Al vvhich subiectes do vvish (no doubt) in their hartes , that they had a Prince and state of their ovvn religion, in stead of that vvhich novv gouerneth them: and cōsequentlie in this first sence , they may be called al traitors, & euerie act they do for aduancement of their said different religion (deuiding betvven the state and them) tendereth to treason: vvhich their Princes supposing, do sometimes make diuers of their actes

The state
of al sub-
iectes, in
a state of
different
religion.

The se-
conde
kinde of
treason.

tresonable or punishable for treason. But yet so long as they break not forth vnto the second kinde of treason, vvhich cōteyneih some actuall attēpt or treatie against the life of the Prince, or state, by rebellion or otherwise: vve do not properlie condemne thē for traytors, though they do some actes of their religion made treason by the Prince his lawes, vvho is of a different fayth.

The ap-
plicati-
on of the
former
example.

And so to applie this to my purpose: I think, Sir, in good sooth, that in the first kinde of treason, as vvell the zealous Papist, as also the Puritanes in England, may vvell be called and proued traytors: but in the second sorte (vvherof vve speake properlye at this tyme) it can not bee so precyslye answered, for that ther may be both guiltie & guiltles in eche religion. And as I cannot excuse al Puritanes in this point: so you cannot condemne al Papistes, as long as you take me and some other to be as vve are.

GENTL.

I gtaunt your distinction of treasons to be true, (said the gentleman,) as also your application thereof to the Papistes and Puritans (as you cal them,) not to vvant reason, if ther be anie of them that mislike the present state (as perhaps ther be:) albe it for my parte, I think thes tvvo kindes of treasons, vvwhich you haue put down, be rather diuers degrees then diuers kindes: vvherin I vvil refer me to the iudgement of our Cambridge friend here present, vvwhose skil is more in logical distinctiōs. But yet my reason is this, that indeed the one is but a step or degree to the other, not differing in nature, but rather in tyme, abilitie or oportunitie. For if (as in your former examples you haue shewed)

the Grecians vnder the Turk, and other Christians vnder other Princes of a different religion, and as also the Papistes and Puritanes (as you terme them) in England (for novv this vvord shal passe betvven vs for distinction sake,) haue such alienation of minde from their present regiment, and do couer so much a gouernour and state of their ovvn religion: then no doubt but they are also resolved to imploye their forces for accomplishing and bringing to passe their desires, if they had oportunitie: and so being novv in the first degree or kinde of treason, do vvant but occasion or abilitie, to break into the second.

Two degrees of treason.

True, Sir, said the lavvier, if ther be no other cause **LA VV.** or circumstance that may vvithholde them.

And vvhat cause or circumstance may staye them **GENTL.** I pray you (said the gentleman) vvhen they shal haue abilitie and oportunitie to do a thing vvwhich they so much desire?

Diuers causes (quoth the lavvyer) but especialie **LA VV.** and aboue al other (if it be at home in their ovvn countrie,) the feare of seruitude vnder forreyn nations, may restrayne them from such attemptes: As vve see in Germanie that both Catholiques and protestantes vvould ioyne together, against anie straunger that should offer daunger to their libertie. And so they did against Charles the fift. And in Fraunce not long agoe, albeit the protestants vv ere vp in armes agaynst their kynge, and could haue bene content, by the help of vs in England, to haue put hym dovv n, and placed an other of theyr ovvn religion: yet vvhen they saye vs once seized of Nevvhauen, and so like to

Feare of forrayne oppressio, maketh friendship at home.

unce

proced to the recouerie of some parte of our states on that side the sea : they quicklie ioined vvith ther ovvn Catholiques againe to expell vs.

Flaunders.

In Flaunders likewise, though Mōsieur vvere called thither by the protestantes, especialie for defence of their religion, against the Spaniard: yet vve see how daintie diuers chief protestates of Antvvarpe, Gaunc and Bruges vvere, in admitting him, & how quick in expelling, so soone as he put them in the least feare of subiection to the french. And as for Portugal, I haue heard some of the chiefeſt Catholiques among them say, in this late contention about their kingdom: that rather then they vvould suffer the Castilian to come in vpon them, they vvould be content to admyt vvhatsoever aides of a contrarie religion to them selues, & to aduenture vvhatsoever alteration in religion or other incōuenience might befall them by that meanes, rather then endaunger their subiection to their ambitious neighbour.

Portugal.

The old
harred of
east Gre-
cians to-
vvardes
the vvest
Latins.

The like is reported in diuers histories of the Greciās at this day, vvho do hate so much the name and dominion of the Latines: as they had rather to endure al the miseries vvich dailie they suffer vnder the Turk for their religion and other vvise: then by calling for aid frō the vvest to hazard their subiection to the said Latines. So that by theſe examples you see, that feare & horroure of external subiection may stay men in al states, and consequentlie also both Papistes and Puritanes in the state of England, from passing to the second kinde or degree of treason, albeit they vvere neuer so deep in the first, and had both abilitie, time, vvil, and oportunitie for the other.

Here I presumed to interrupt their speech, & said: SCHOL. that this seemed to me most cleare, and that now I vnderstood vvhhat the Lavvier meant before, vvhen he affirmed, that albeit the moſte parte of Papistes in general might be ſaid to deal againſt the ſtate of England at this day, in that they deal ſo earneſtlic for the maintenaunce & encrease of their religion, and ſo to incurre ſome kinde of treason: yet (perhaps) not ſo farfurth nor in ſo deep a degre, of proper treason as in this booke is presumed or inforced: though for my parte (ſaid I) I do not ſe that the booke presumeth or inforceth al Papistes in general to be properlie traitors, but onlie ſuch as in particular are therein named, or that are by lavv attainted, cōdempned or executed: and vvhat vvil you ſay (quoth I) to thoſe in particular.

Not all
Papistes
properly
traitors.

Surelie (quoth he) I muſt ſay of theſe, much after the maner vvhiſh I ſpak before: that ſome here named in this booke are openlie knovven to haue bene in the ſecond degre or kinde of treason: as VVeſtmerland, Norton, Saunders, and the like. But diuers others (namelie the Prieſtes and Seminaries that of late haue ſuffred,) by ſo much as I could ſee deliuered and pleaded at their arraignmentes, or heard protested by them at their deathes, or gathered by reason and diſcourſe of my ſelf, (for that no forrain Prince or vvife counsellor vvould euer commit ſo great maters of ſtate to ſuch instrumentes:) I cannot (I ſay) but think, that to the vvife of our ſtare, that had the doing of this buſines, the firſt degre of treason (vvherin no doubt they vv ere) vv as ſufficient to diſpatch and make them avway: eſpecialie in ſuch ſuſpicious times as theſe are: to the end that being

LAVV.

The Prie-
ſtes and
Seminaries
that
vv ere ex-
ecuted.

hanged for the first, they should neuer be in danger to fall into the second, nor yet to dravv other men to the same: vvhich perhaps vvas moſte of all miſdoubted.

After the lavvyer had ſpoken this, I held my peace, to heare vvhat the gētle mā vvoulde anſvvere: vvho vvalked vp and dovvn, tvvo vvhole turnes in the gallerie, vvithout yeelding anie vvorde againe: and then ſtaying vpon the ſudden, caſt his eyes ſadlie vpon vs both, and ſaid.

GENTL.

My maſters, howv ſo euer this be, vvwhich in dede apperteineth not to vs to iudge or diſcuſſe, but rather to perſvvade our ſelues, that the ſtate hath reaſon to do as it doeth, and that it muſt often times, as vvell préuent inconueniences, as remedie the ſame vvhen they are happened: yet for my ovvn parte I muſt confeſſe vnto you, that vpon ſome conſiderations vvwhich vſe to come vnto my mynd, I take no ſmal grief of theſe differences among vs (vvwhich you terme of diuers & different religions) for vvwhich vve are driuen of neceſſitie, to vſe diſcipline tovwards diuers, vvho poſſible othervvife vvould be no great malefactours. I knowv the cauſe of this difference is grounded vpon a principle not eaſie to cure, vvwhich is the iudgemēt & conſcience of a man, vvhervnto obeyeth at length his vvill and affection, vvhat ſo euer for a tyme he may othervvife diſſemble outvvardlie. I remember your ſpeech before of the doubtful and dangerous inclination of ſuch as lyue diſcontented in a ſtate of a different religion, eſpecialie, vvhen either indeed, or in their ovvn conceipt, they are hardlie dealt vvithal, and vvher euerie mans particular puniſhment, is taken

VViſecō-
ſideratiōs

to reach to the cause of the vvhole.

I am not ignorant how that misery procureth
amitie, and the opinion of calamitie, moueth affe-
ction of mercie and compassion, euen towarde the
vicked: the better fortune alwaies is subiect to en-
uie, and he that suffereth, is thought to haue the
better cause, my experience of the diuers raignes and
proceedinges of king Edvard, Q. Marie, and of
this our moste gracious soueraigne hath taught me
not a litle, touching the sequele of thes affaires. And
finalie, (my good friendes) I must tel you plaine
(quoth he: and this he spake vvyth great asseuera-
tion) that I could vvysh vvyth al my hart, that either
thes differences vvere not amonge vs at al, or els
that they vvere so temperatlie on al partes pursued:
as the common state of our cuntrye, the blessed
raigne of her Ma. and the common cause of true
religion, vvere not endangered therby. But now:
and ther he brak of, and turned aside.

Miserie
moueth
mercie.

A good
vvish.

The lavvyer seing him holde his peace & departe, L A VV.
he stepped after him, and taking him by the govvne
said merylie: Syr, al men are not of your complex-
ion, some are of quicker and more stirring spirites,
and do loue to fishe in vvater that is troubled, for
that they do participate the Black moors humour,
that dvvel in Guinea (vvhether I suppose you haue
heard and scene also some in this land) vvose excer-
cise at home is (as some vvrite) the one to hunt,
catche, and sell the other, and alvvayes the stron-
ger to make money of the vvaker for the tyme.
But nowe yf in England vve should lyue in
peace and vnytye of the state, as they do in

The na-
ture and
practize
of the
Guineans

Germanie, notwithstanding their differences of religion, and that the one should not praye vpon the other: then should the great Favvcons for the field (I mean the fauorites of the time; faile vvheron to feed, vvhich vvere an incōuenience as you knowv.

GENTL.

Truelie Sir, said the gentleman, I think you roue nearer the mark then you vveene: for it I be not deceiued the verie ground of much of thes broiles vvhherof vve talke, is but a verie praye: not, in the mindes of the Prince or state (vvhole intentions no doubt be moſte iuſt and holie) but in the greedie imagination and ſubtile conceipt of him, vvhho at this preſent in reſpect of our ſinnes, is permitted by God, to tyrannize both Prince and ſtate: and being him ſelf of no religion, feedeth notvwithſtanding vpon our differences in religion, to the ſatting of him ſelf & ruine of the realm. For vvhheras by the common diſtinction novv receiued in ſpeech, there are thre notable differēces of religion in the land, the tvvo extreames, vvhherof are the Pa-piſt and the puritan, and the religious Proteſtant obteining the mean: this ſelovv being of neither, maketh his gaine of al: & as he ſeeketh a kingdom by the one extreeme, and ſpoile by the other: ſo he vſeth the authoritie of the third, to compas the fiſt tvvo, & the countermine of eche one, to the overthrow of al three.

The Ty-
raunt of
engliſhe
ſtate.

Three
differen-
ces of re-
ligion in
Englād.

SCHOL.

To this I anſwered: In good ſooth Sir, I ſee novv vvhher you are: you are falen into the cōmon place of al our ordinarie talke & cōference in the vniuerſitie: for I knowv that you mean my L. of Leiceſter, vvhho is the ſubiect of al pleaſaunt diſcourſes at this day throughout the realme.

The Erle
of Ley-
ceſter.

OF A SCHOLAR OF CAMBRIDGE IS

Not so pleaseant as pitiful, answered the gentle- **GENTL.**
man, yf al maters and circumstances vvere vvel con-
sidered, except anie man take pleasure to least at our
ovvn miseries, vvhich are like to be greater by his
iniquitie (yf God auert it not) then by al the vvic-
kednes of England besides: he being the man that
by al probabilitie, is like to be the bane and fatal
destynie of our state, vvyth the euersion of true re-
ligion, vvhherof by indirect meanes, he is the greatest
enemie that the land doth nourishe

Now verilie (quoth the lavvyer) yf you saye thus **LA VV.**
much for the protestantes opinion of him, vvhath
shal I say for his merites to vvarde the Papistes? vvhoh
for as much as I can perceyue, doe take them selues
litle beholding vnto him, albeit for his gaine he
vvas some yeares their secret frie against you: vntil
by his friendes he vvas persvaded, and chiefly by
the L. North by vwaye of pollicie, as the said L. **The L.**
bosteth, in hope, of greater gaine, to step ouer to **Norths**
the puritanes, against vs both, vvhom not vvyth- **pollicie.**
standing it is probable, that he loueth as much, as
he doth the rest.

You knowv the Beares loue, said the gentleman, **GENTL.**
vhich is al for his ovvn paunche, and so this Bear-
vvhelpe, turneth al to his ovvn commoditie, and for
greedines therof, vvil ouerturne al yf he be not stop-
ped or mouzeled in tyme.

And surelie vnto me it is a straunge speculation,
vvhherof I cannot pick out the reason (but onlie that
I do attribute it to Gods punishment for our sinnes) **A strange**
that in so vvise & vigilant a state as ours is, and in a **specula-**
countrie so vvel acquainted and beaten vvyth such **tion.**
daungers: a man of such a spirit as he is knowven

to be, of so extreme ambition, pride, falsehood and trecherie: so borne, so bred vp, so noosed in treason from his infancie: descended of a tribe of traytors, and fleshed in conspiracie against the Royal blood of K. Henries children in his tender years, and exercised euer since in driftes against the same, by the blood and ruyn of diuers others: a man so vvel knovven to beare secret malice against her Ma. for causes irrecōcileable, and moste deadlie rācour against the best, and vvifest Councillors of her highnes: that such a one (I say so hateful) to God and man, and so markeable to the simplest subiect of this land by thee publique ensyignes of his tyrannous purpose, should be suffered so manie yeares vvythout check, to aspire to tyrannie by moste manifest vvayes, and to possesse himself (as novv he hath done) of Court, Councell, and countrie, vvythout controlement: so that nothing vvāteth to him but onlie his pleasure, and the day alredie conceyed in his minde to dispose as he list, both of Prince, Crovv, Realm and religion.

SCHOL.

It is much truelie (quoth I) that you saye, and it ministreth not a lytle marvail vnto manie, vvherof your vvorship is not the first, nor yet the tenth person of accompt vvchich I haue hearde discourse and complaine. But vvhat shal vve say hereunto? ther is no man that ascribeth not this vnto the singular benignitie and moste bountiful good nature of her Ma. vvho measuring other men by her ovvn Heroycal and Princelie sinceritie: cannot easilie suspect a man so much bounden to her grace, as he is, nor remoue her confidence from the place, vvher she hath heaped so infinite benefites.

The Q.
Ma most
excellent
good na-
ture.

GENTL.

No doubt (said the gentleman) but this gracious

and sweet disposition of her Ma. is the true original cause therof: vvhich Princelie disposition, as in her highnes it deserueth al rare commendation; so lyeth the same opē to manie daungers often tymes, vvhē so benigne a nature meeteth vvyth ingrate and ambitious persons: vvhich obseruation perhapes, caused her Ma. moſte noble Graūdfather and father (tvyo renoumed vviſe princes) to vvithdraw ſomtyme vpon the ſudden, their great fauour from certaine ſubiectes of high eſtate. And her Ma. may eaſilie vſe her ovvn excellent vvifdoin and memorie, to recal to minde the manyfold examples of perilous happes fallen to diuers Princes, by to much confidēce in obliged proditioners: vvith vvhom the name of a kingdom, and one houers reigne, vvveyeth more, then al the duetie, obligation, honeſtie, or nature in the vvorld. VVould God her Ma. could ſee the continual feares that be in her faythful ſubiectes hartes, vvholes that man is about her noble perſon, ſo vvulnerable and likelie (if the Lord auert it nor) to be the calamitie, of her Princelie blood and name.

Feares
that ſub-
iectes
haue of
my L. of
Leyceſter

The talke vvil neuer out of manie mouthes and mindes, that diuers auncient men of this Realm, and once a vvife gentleman novv a Councillor, had vvvyth a certaine friend of his, concerning the preſage and deep impreſſion, vvwhich her Ma. father had of the houſe of Sir Iohn Dudley, to be the ruin in tyme of his Ma. Royal houſe and blood, vvwhich thing vvvas like to haue bene fulfilled ſoone after (as the vvorld knowveth) vpon the death of K. Edward by the ſaid Dudley this mans father: vvho at one blowv, procured to diſpatch from al poſſeſſion

Sir Fran-
v Valsing
ham.

K. Hen.
preſage of
the houſe
of Dudley

Deep dis-
simulation

of the Crowne, al three children of the said noble king. And yet in the midst of those bloodie practices against her Ma. that now is and her sister (vvhetherin also this felovvs hand vvas so far, as for his age he could thrust the same,) vvythin sixetiene dayes before K. Edvvardes death (he knowing belike that the king should die) vvrote moſte flattering letters to the Ladie Marie (as I haue heard by them vvho then vv ere vv yth her) promiſſing al loyaltie and true ſeruiſe to her, after the diſcease of her brother, vv yth no leſſe painted vvordes, then this man now doth vſe to Q. Elizabeth.

So delt he then vv yth the moſte deare children of his good king & maſter, by vv hom he had bene no leſſe exalted and truſted, then this man is by her Ma. And ſo deeplie diſſembled he then vvhen he had in hand the plot to deſtroie them both. And vvhat then (alas) may not vve feare and doubt of this his ſonne, vvho in outragious ambition and deſire of reigne, is not inferiour to his father, or to anie other aſpiring ſpirit in the vvorld, but far more inſolent, cruel, vindicative, expert, potent, ſubtile, ſne, and fox-like then euer he vvas? I like vv el the good motion propounded by the forſaid gentleman, to his friend at the ſame tyme, and do aſſure my ſelf it vvould be moſte pleaſaunt to the Realm, and profitable to her Ma. to vv yt, that this mans actions might be called publiquelie to tryal, and libertie giuen to good ſubiectes, to ſay vvhat they knevv againſt the ſame, as it vvas permitted in the firſt yeare of K. Henrie the eight againſt his Graundfather, and in the firſt of Q. Marie againſt his father: and then I vvould not doubt, but yf theſe tvv o his

Sir Fran.
V Valsing
ham.

Edmund
Dudley

Ihon
Dudley.

ancestors were found worthy to leese their Robert
heades for treason: this man would not be found Dudley.
unworthy to make the third in kinred, whose
trecheries doe far surpasse them both.

After the Gentleman had said this, the Lavvyer LAVV.
stood stil, somevvhat smyling to him self, and loo-
king round about him, as though he had bene half
afeard, and then said. My masters, do you read ouer
or studie the statutes that come foorth: haue you
not heard of the PROVISIO made in the last
Parliament for punishmēt of those vvho speak so
broad of such men as my L. of Leycester is?

Yes, said the gentleman, I haue heard howv that
my L. of Leycester vvas verie careful and diligent GENTL.
at that tyme to haue such a lavv to passe against tal-
kers: hoping (belike) that his L. vnder that gene-
rall restreint might lye the more quyetlye in har-
brough from the tempest of mens tongues, vvwhich The lavv
tattled busilie at that tyme, of diuers his Lordships agaynst
actions & affaires, vvwhich perhaps him self vvould talking.
haue vvished to passe vvith more secretisie. As of his
discontentemēt & preparation to rebellion, vpon
Monsieurs first comming into the land: of his dis-
grace and checks receyued in court: of the fresh
death of the noble Erle of Essex: and of this mans
hastie snatching vp of the vvidovv, vvhom he sent
vp and down the countrie from house to house by A&ios of
priuie vvayes, therby to auoid the sight & know- Leicester
ledg of the Q. Ma. And albeīt he had not onlie vvherof
vsed her at his good liking before, for satissying of he vvould
his oovn lust, but also married and remarried her haue no
for contentation of her friendes: yet denyed he speech.
the same, by solemne othe to her Ma. and receiued

the holie cōmunion therupon (so good a cōscience he hath) and consequentlie threatned moste sharp reuenge tovvards al subiectes vvwhich should dare to speak therof: & so for the concealing both of this and other his doinges, vvwhich he desired not to haue publik, no maruaile though his Lordship vvvere so diligent a procurer of that lavv for silence.

SCHOL. In deed (said I) it is verie probable that his Lordship vvvas in great distres about that tyme, vvhen Monsieurs maters vvvere in hand, and that he did manie thinges and purposed more, vvherof he desired lesse speeche among the people, especialie aftervvvardes, vvhen his said designmentes toke not place. I vvvas my self that yeare not far from VVarvvike vvhen he came thither from the Court a ful *Mal-Content*, & vvhen it vvvas thought moste certainlie throughout the Realm, that he vvould haue taken armes soone after, yf the mariage of her Ma. vvvyth Monsieur had gone forvvvard. The thing in Cābridge & in al the cōtrie as I rode, vvvas in euerie mās mouth: & it vvvas a vvounder to see not onelie the contenaunces, but also the behauior, & to heare the bold speeches of al such as vvvere of his faction.

Leicester
Prepara-
tives to
rebellion
vpō Mō
sieurs ma-
riage.

My Lord him self had giuen out a litle before at Killingvvorth, that the mater vvoulde coste manie broken heades before Michelmasse daye next: and my Lord of VVarvvik had said openly at his table in Greenvviche, Sir Thomas Hennige being by (if I be not deceyued,) that it vvvas not to be suffred (I meane the mariage) vvwhich vvordes of his once comming abroad (albeit misliked by his ovvn Ladie the also present) euerie Seruing-man & common compaignion, toke then vp in defence of his Lordships part agaist the Q. Ma. Such running ther

vvas, such sending & posting about the Realm, such amplification of the powvers & forces of Cassimere & other Princes, redie, (as vvas affirmed) to present them selues vnto his aide, for defence of the Realm & religiō against straungers:) for that vvas holdē to be his cause) such numbring of parties & complices vvythin the Realm, (vvherof him self shewed the Catalogue to some of his friēdes for their comfort) such debasing of them that fauoured the mariage (especialie tvvoe or three Councillors by name, vvho vv ere said to be the cause of al and for that vv ere appointed out to be sharplie punished to the terrour of al others:) such letters vv ere vvriten and intercepted of purpose, importing great powvers to be redie, & so manie other thīges done & designed, tending al to manifest & open vvarre: as I began hartelie to be afeard, and vvished my self back at Cābridge againe, hoping that being ther, my scholars govvne should excuse me from necessitie of fighting, or if not, I vvas resolved (by my Lordes good leaue, to folovv Aristotle, vvho preferreth alvvay the Lyon before the Beare: assuring my self vvythal, that his Lordship should haue no better successe in this (if it came to tryal) thē his father had in as bad a cause, & so much the more for that I vvas priue to the mindes of some of his friēdes, vvho meant to haue deceyued him, if the matter had broken out. And amongst other ther vvas a certeine Vicepresidēt in the vvorld, vvho being left in the roome & absence of an other, to procure frynds: said in a place secretlie not far from Ludlovv, that if the mater came to blowvs, he vvould folovv his Mistres & leaue his Master in the briars.

To Sir Th
Layton.

L. Trea-
surer.

L. Cham-
berlayne.

M. Cōp-
troller.

Sir Iho.
Hibbot.

Marie Sir (quoth the gentleman) & I trov vvvant GENTL.

Leicester
Father a
trayte-
rous Pa-
pist.

The ho-
nour and
commo-
dities by
the mari-
age vvith
Fraunce.

more vvould haue folovved that example. For al-
beit I knowv that the Papists vvere moſte named
and miſdoubted of his parte, in that cauſe, for their
open inclination tovvardes Monſieur, and conſe-
quentlie, for greater diſcredit of the thing it ſelf, it
vvas giuen out euerie vvhere by this Champion of
religion, that her Ma. cauſe, vvasthe Papiftes cauſe,
(euen as his father had done in the like enterpriſe
before him, though al vvpon diſſimulation, as appea-
red at his death, vvhere he professed him ſelf an ear-
neſt Papist:) yet vvasther no man ſo ſimple in the
Realm, vvhiſh diſcried not this Vizard at the firſt:
neither yet anie good ſubieſt (as I ſuppoſe) vvho
ſeing her Ma. on the one parte, vvould not haue
taken againſt the other parte, vvhat ſo euer he had
bene. And much more the thing it ſelf in contro-
uerſie (I meane the mariage of her Royal Ma. vvith
the brother and heire apparant of Fraunce,) being
taken and iudged by the beſt, vvyleſt and fayth-
fulleſt proteſtantes of the realm, to be both honora-
ble, conuenient, profitable and needful. VVherby
onlie, as by a moſte ſoueraign, and preſent remedie,
al our maladies both abroad and at home, had at
once bene cured: al forreine enemies, and domeſti-
cal conſpirators, al differences, al daungers, al feares
had ceaſed together: Fraunce had bene ours moſte
aſſured: Spaine vvould not a litle haue trembled:
Scotland had bene quiet: our competitors in En-
gland vvould haue quaked: and for the Pope he
might haue put vp his pipes. Our differences in re-
ligion at home, had been either leſſe, or no greater
then novv they are, for that Monſieur being but a
moderate Papist, and nothing yehement in his opi-

nions, vvas content vvyth verie resonable conditions, for him self and his straungers onlie in vse of their conscience, not vnliklie (truelie) but that in tyme he might by Gods grace, and by the great vvyldom & vertue of her Ma. haue bene brought also to embrace the gospell, as king Ethelbert an heathen vvas, by noble Q. Bertha his vvyfe, the first Christian of our English Princes.

Ethelbert
Kinge of
Kent, cō-
uered
An. Do.
603.

Vnto all vvhich felicitie, if the Lord in mercie should haue added also some issue of ther royall bodies, (as vvas not impossible, vvhē first this noble matche vvas mouued,) vve then (doubtles) had bene the moste fortunate people vnder heauen, and might haue bene (perhaps) the meane to haue restored the Gospell throughout all Europe besides, as our brethren of Fraunce vvel cōsidered & hoped.

Of al vvhich singular benefits both present & to come, both, in R E and in S P E, this Tyraunt for his ovvn priuate lucre (fearing lest heerby his ambition might be restrayned, & his trecherie reueyled) hath bereaued the realm, & done vvhāt in him lieth besides, to alienate for euer & make our mortal enemie this great Prince, vvhō sought the loue of her Ma. vvyth so much honour & confidence as neuer Prince the like, putting tvice his ovvn person to icopardie of the sea, & to the peril of his malitious enuiours here in England, for her Ma sake.

VWhen you speake of Mōsieur (said the lavvyer) L A V V. I cannot but greatlie be mouued, both for these considerations vvel touched by you, as also for some other: especialie one vvherin (perhaps) you vwill think me partiall, but truelie I am not: for that I speak it onlie in respect of the quiet & good

Tolerati-
on in Re-
ligion,
vvyth vni-
on in de-
fence of
our coun-
trie.

of my countrie, and that is, that by Mōsieurs mar-
che vvyth our noble Princeſſe, beſides the hope of
iſſue (vvhich vvas the principal) ther vvanted not
alſo probabilitie, that ſome vnion or litle tollera-
tion in religion, betvvene you and vs, might haue
bene procured in this ſtate, as vve ſee that in ſome
other countries is admitted to their great good.
VVhich thing (no doubt) vvould haue cut of quite
al daungers and dealinges from forreine Princes,
and vvould haue ſtopped manie deuifes and plotes
vvythin the Realm: vvheras novv by this breach
vvyth Fraūce, vve ſtād alone as me ſeemeth vvyth-
out anie great vnition or friendsſhip abroad, and
our differences at home grovve more vehement
and ſharp then euer before. Vpon vvhich tvvō
heades, as alſo vpon infinit other cauſes, purpoſes,
driftes and pretences, ther do enſue daylie more
deep, daungerous and desperat practizes, euerie
man vſing either the commoditie or neceſſitie of
the tyme and ſtate for his ovvn purpoſe. Eſpecialie
novv vvhen all men preſume that her Ma. (by the
contynual thvvarthings vvhich haue bene vſed
againſt al her mariages) is not like to leaue vnto the
realm, that pretious Ievvell ſo much and long de-
ſired of al Engliſh hartes, I mean the Royall heires
of her ovvn bodie.

GENTL. Thvvarthings cal you the defeating of all her
Ma. moſte honorable offers of marriage? (ſaid the
other) trulie in my opinion you ſhould haue vſed
an other vvorde to expreſſe the nature of ſo vvicked
a faſte: vvherby alone, if theit vvēre no other, this
vnfortunat man, hath done more hurt to his com-
mon vvealth, thē if he had murdered manie thovv-

landes of her subiectes, or betrayed vvhole armies to the professed enimie. I can remēber vvel my self, fover treatises to this purpose, vndermined by his meanes. The first vvyth the Sverthen king: the second vvyth the Archduke of Austria: the third vvyth Henrie K. of Fraunce that novv reigneth: and the fourth vvyth the brother & heire of the said kingdō. For I let passe manie other secret motions made by great Potentats to her Ma. for the same purpose, but thes fover are openlie knovven, & therefore I name them. VVhich fover are as vvel knovven to haue bene aldisturbed by this DAYVS, as they vvere earnestly purfued by the other.

Diuers
marriages
of her
Ma. de-
feated.

And for the first thre Suters, he droue the avvaye, by protesting and svvearing that him self vvas contracted vnto her Ma. vvhherof her highnesse vvas sufficiētlie aduertised by Cardinal Chatilian in the first treatie for fraunce, & the Cardinal soone after punished (as is thought) by this mā vvyth poyson. But yet this speech he gaue out then, euerie vvhher among his friēdes both straungers & other, that he (forsooth) vvas assured to her Ma. & consequētlie that al other Princes must giue ouer their sutes, for him. VVherunto notwithstanding, vvhē the Sverthen vwould hardlie giue eare, this man conferred vvyth his Priuado to make a moſte vnſeemeliē & disloyal prooffe therof for the others ſatiſfaction, vvhich thing I am enforced by dūetie to paſſe ouer vvyth ſilence, for honour to the parties vvhho are touched therein: as alſo I am to cōceale his ſaid filthie Priuado, though vvortheie otherwiſe for his diſhoneſtie to be diſplayed to the vvorlde: but my Lord him ſelf, I am ſure, doth vvell remēber both the mā & the mater. And albeir ther, vvas no vwyſe

Leiceſter
denies
to diſce
avvay all
Suters ſhō
her Ma.

Leicester
conuin-
ceth him
self of im-
pudencie

man at that tyme vvhoo knowving my L. suspected not the falschood, and his arrogant affirmation tovvching this contract vvyth her Ma. yet some both abroad and at home might doubt therof perhaps: but novv of late, by his knowven marriage vvyth his Minion Dame Lettice of Essex, he hath declared manifestlie his ovvn moste impudent and disloyal dealing vwith his soueraign in this reporte.

L A V V.

For that reporte (quoth the lavver) I knowv that it vvas common and mainteyned by manie, for diuers years: yet did the vvise sorte make no accōpt therof, seing it came onlie from him self, and in his ovvn behalf. Neither vvas it credible, that her Ma. vvhoo refused so noble knightes and Princes as Europe hath not the like: vvould make choise of so meane a peere as Robin Dudley is, noble onlie in two descentes, and both of them steyned vvyth the Block, from vvhich also him self, vvas pardoned but the other daye, being cōdemned therunto by lavve for his desertes, as appeareth yet in publik recordes. And for the vvydovve of Essex, I marvaile Sir (quoth he) howv you cal her his vvyfe, seing the canon lavve standeth yet in force tovvching matters of mariage vvythin the Realm.

The ba-
seness of
Leicester
ācestors.

Anno 1.
R. Marie.

GENTL.

Oh (said the gentleman laughing) you meane for that he procured the poysoning of her husband, in his iourney from Ireland. You must think that

D. Dale.

Doctor Dale vvil dispence in that mater, as he did (at his Lordships appointment) vvyth his Italian

D. Iulio.

phisitian Doctor Iulio, to haue two vvyues at once: at the least vvise the mater vvas permitted, and borne out by them both publiquelie (as al the vvorld knowveth) and that against no lesse persons

The Arch-
bishops
ouer-

then the Archbissshop of Canturburie him self, whose ouerthrow vvas principallie vvrought by this Tyrant for contrarying his vvil, in so beastlie a demaund. But for this controuersie vvwhether the mariage be good or no, I leaue it to be tryed hereafter, betvvene my yong L. of Denbighe, and M. Philippe Sydney, vvhom the same moste concerneth. For that it is like to depriue him of a goodlie inheritaunce if it take place (, as some vvil say that in no reason it can,) not onlie in respect of the precedent adulterie and murder betvvene the parties: but also for that my L. vvas cōtracted, at leaste, to an other Ladie before, that yet liueth, vvherof M. Edvard Diar and M. Edmond Tylney both Courtiars can be vvitnesses, and consumated the same contract by generation of children. But this (as I said) must be lefte to be tryed hereafter by them vvwhich shal haue moste interest in the case. Onlie for the present I must aduertise you, that you may not take holde so exactlie of al my L. doinges in vvomens affaires, neither to vvching ther mariages, neither yet their husbandes.

For first his Lordship hath a speciall fortune, that vvhe he desireth anie vvomans fauour, then vvhat person so euer standeth in his vvay, hath the luck to die quicklie for the finishing of his desire. As for example: vvhen his Lordship vvas in full hope to marrie her Ma. and his ovvn vvife stode in his light, as he supposed: he did but send her a sid, to the house of his seruant Forster of Cumner by Oxforde, vvhere shorthlie after she had the chaunce to fal from a paire of stares, and so to breake her neck, but yet vvithout hurting of her hoode that stode

throw
for not
allowing
vv
vvues to
Leicester
his Phis-
tion.

The Lady
Sheffield
now
Embass-
desse in
Fraunce.

The
death of
Leicester
first Le-
die and
vvife.

Sir Rich. Varney. vpon her heade. But Sir Richarde Varney vvho by commaundment remayned vvith her that daye alone, vvith one man onlie, and had sent avvay perforce al her seruantes frō her, to a market tvv myles of, he (I saye) vvith his mā can tel hovv she died, vvich mā being taken aftervvard for a felonie in the marches of VVales, & offering to publlish the maner of the said murder, vvvas made avvaye priuillie in the prison. And Sir Rychard him self dying about the same time in London, cried pitiouslic, & blasphemed God, & said to a gentlemā of vvorship of myne acquaintaūce not lōg before his death: that al the diuels in hell did reare him in peeces. The vvife also of Balde Buttler kinsman to my L. gaue out the vvhole faēte a litle before her death. But to retorne vnto my purpose, this vvvas my Lordes good fortune to haue his vvife die, at that tyme vvhe it vvvas like to turne moſte to his profit.

Balde Butler.

The ſuſpicious death of the Lord Sheffield

Long after this, he fell in loue vvith the Ladie Sheffield vvhom I ſignified before, & the alſo had he the ſame fortune to haue her huſband die quickly vvith an extreme reume in his head (as it vvvas giuē out) but as other ſay, of an artificiall Catarre that ſtopped his breath. The like good chaūce had he in the death of my Lord of Eſſex (as I haue ſaid before) and that at a tyme moſte fortunate for his purpose: for vvhe he vvvas comming home frō Ireland, vvith intent to reuenge him ſelf vpon my L. of Leyceſter, for begetting his vvife vvith child in his abſence (the childe vvvas a daughter and brought vp by the La: Shandoies, VV. Knooles his vvife): my L. of Ley. hearing therof, vvanted not a friend or tvv to accompanie the deputie, aſamōg

other, a cople of the Earls ovvn seruauntes, Crōp-
 ron (if I misse not his name) yeoman of his bottels,
 and LLoide his Secretarie, entertained aftervvard
 by my L. of Leycester. And so he died in the vvaye
 of an extream Flux, caused by an Italian *Recipe*, as al
 his friēdes are vvell assured: the maker vvherof vvvas
 a Surgiā (as is belieued) that the vvvas nevvlie come
 to my Lord from Italie. A cunning man & sure in
 operation, vvyth vvhom if the good Ladie had
 bene soner acquainted & vsed his help, she should
 not haue needed to haue sitten so pensieue at home
 & feareful of her husbands former returne out of
 the same countrie, but might haue spared the
 yong childe in her belly, vvwhich she vvvas enforced
 to make avvay (cruelly & vnnaturalie) for clearing
 the house against the good-mans arriuall.

The poy-
 soning of
 the Earle
 of Essex.

The Shif-
 ting of a
 childe in
 Dame Let-
 tice belly

Neither must you marueyll though al thes died
 in diuers maners of outvvard diseases, for this is
 the excellencie of the Italian arte, for vvwhich this
 Surgian and D. Iulio vvvere entertained so care-
 fullie, vvho can make a man die, in vvhat maner or
 shevv of sycknes you vvill: by vvwhose instructions
 no doubt but his Lordship is novv cunning, es-
 pecialye adding also to thes the couñsaile of his Doc-
 tor Baylie, a man also not a litle studied (as he
 seemeth in this arte. For I heard him once my
 self in a publique acte in Oxeford (and that in pre-
 sence of my Lord of Leycester if I be not deceyued)
 maintein, that poyson might so be tempered and
 giuen as it should not apeare presentlie, and
 yet should kill the partie aftervvard at vvhat
 time should be appoint d. VVhich argument
 belike pleased vvell his Lordship and therefore
 vvvas chosen to be discussed in his audience, yf I

The di-
 uers ope-
 rations of
 Poyson.

Doctor
 Baylie
 the yon-
 ger.

be not deceyued of his being that daye present. So though one dye of a Flux, & an other of a Catarre, yet this importeth litle to the mater, but sheweth rather the great cunning and skill of the Artificer.

Death of
Cardinal
Chatilia.

So Cardinal Chatilian (as I haue said before,) ha-
uing accused my L. of Leycester to the Q. Ma. and
after that, passing from London tovvardes Fraunce
about the mariage, died by the vway at Canturbu-
rie of a burning Feuer: & so proued D. Bailies asser-
tion true, that poyson may be giuen to kill at a day.

SCHOL.

At this the Lavvyer cast vp his eyes to heauen, & I
stood somvvhat musing & thinking of that vvwhich
had bene spoké of the Erle of Essex, vvwhose case in
deed moued me more then al the rest, for that he
vvvas a very noble Gentleman, a great aduauncer of
true religion, a Patron to many preachers and stu-
dentes, and tovvardes me and some of my friendes
in particular, he had bene in some thinges very be-
neficial: & therfore I said that it grieued me extrem-
lie to heare or thinck of so vnnvorthie a death cō-
triued by such meanes to so vvorthie a Peere. And
so much the more, for that it vvvas my chaunce, to
come to the vnderstanding of diuers particulars
cōcerning that thing, both from one Lea, an Irishe-
man, Robyn Honnies and other, that vvvere pre-
sent at Penteneis the marchants house in Deueling
vpon the kay, vvher the murder vvvas committed.
The mater vvvas vvrought especialie by Crompton
yeomā of the bottels, by the procuremēt of Lloyde
as you haue noted before, and ther vvvas poysoned
at the same tyme and vvith the same cuppe (as
gyuen of curtesie by the Earle) one Misteris Ales
Draykot a goodlie Gētlevvwoman, vvhom the Erle
affectioned

Lea.

Honnies

affectioned much, vvho departing thece tovvardes her ovvn house, (vvhich vvas 18. miles of, the said Lea accompanying her, and vvayting vpon her,) she began to fall syck very gricuouslie vpon the vvaye, & cōtineved vvith increase of paynes & excessiue tormētes, by vomiting, vntill she dyed, vvhich vvas the Sunday before the Erles death, enserving the fry day after, & vvhen she vvas dead, her body vvas svvolen vnto a monstrous bygnes and deformitie, vvherof the good Erle hearing the day folovvinge, lamented the case greatly, & said in the presence of his seruaunts, Ah poore Ales, the cuppe vvas not prepared for the, albeit it vvēre thy hard destinie to taste therof.

Mesteris
Draykot
poisoned
vvith the
Earle of
Essex.

Yong Hōnies also vvwhose father is Master of the children of her Ma. Chappel, being at that tyme Page to the said Erle, and accustomed to take the taste of his drink (thoughe synce enterteyned also among other by my L. of Leycester for better couering of matter) by his taste that he then toke of the compovvnde cuppe, (thoughe in verie smal quātitie, as you knowv the fashion is:) yet vvas he like to haue lost his lyfe, but escaped in the ende, (being yong) vvith the losse only of his heare: vvhich the Erle perceyuing, and taking cōpassion of the youth: called for a cuppe of drynk a lytle before his death, and dronk to Honnies, saying: I drynk to the my Robin, and be not a feard, for this is a better cuppe of drynk then that, vvherof thou vvōkest the taste vvhen vve vvēre both poysoned, & vvherby thou haste lost thy heare & I must leese my lyfe. This hath yong Honnies reported open-ly in diuers places, and before diuers Gētlemen of

The Erle
of Essex
speech to
his Page
Robyn
Honnies

vvorship sythence his comming into England, & the forsaide Lea Irisheman at his passage this vwaye tovvardes Fraunce, after he had bene present at the fornamed Misteris Draykors death, vvyth some other of the Erles seruants, haue & do most constantlie reporte the same, vvhere they maye do it vvithout the terrour of my L. of Leycesters reuenge. VVherfore in this matter ther is no doubt at all, thoughe most extreme vile and intollerable indignitie, that such a man shoulde be so openlie murdered vvithout punishment. VVhat noble man vvithin the Realm may be safe if this be suffered? or vvhat vvorthie personage vvil aduenture his life in her Ma. seruice if this shalbe his revvarde? But (Sir) I. pray you pardon me for I am somewhat perhaps to vehement in the case of this my Patron and noble peere of our Realm. And therefore I beseeche you to goe forvvarde in your talk vvheras you lese.

GENTL. I vvas recounting vnto you others (saide the Gentleman) made avvay by my L. of Leicester vvith lyke arte, and the next in order I think vvas Sir Nicholas Throgmarton, vvho vvas a man vvhom my L. of Leicester vsed a great vvhile (as all the vvorld knovveth) to ouer-thvvart and crosse the doinges of my L. Treasurer then Sir VVill. Cicill, a mā specialie misliked alvvayes of Leicester, both in respect of his olde master the Duke of Somersēt, as also for that his great vvifdom, zeale and singular fidelitie to the Realm, vvas like to hinder much this mans designemētes: vvherfore vnderstanding after a certaine tyme that thes tvvoo knightes vvcre secretly made friendes, and that Sir Nicholas vvas

Death of
Sir Ni-
cholas
Throg-
marton.

Sir V Vil.
Cycyll
now L.
Treasu-
rer.

like to detect his doinges (as he imagined,) vvhich might turn to some preiudice of his purposes: (having conceiued also a secret grudge & grief against hym, for that he had vvritē to her Ma. at his being Embassador in Fraunce, that he heard reported at Duke Memorāces table, that the Q. of Englād had a meaning to marrye her hors keeper) he inuited the said Sir Nicholas to a supper at his house in Lōdon and at supper tyme departed to the Court, being called for (as he said) vpon the suddē by her Ma. and so perforce vvould needes haue Sir Nicolas to sit and occupie his Lordships place, and therein to be serued as he vvas: and soone after by a surfeit their taken, he died of a straunge and incurable vomit. But the day before his death, he declared to a deare friend of his, al the circumstance & cause of his disease, vvhich he affirmed plainlie to be of poyson, giuen him in a Salate at supper, inueyhing moste earnestlie against the Erles crueltie & bloodie dispositiō, affirming him to be the vvickedest, moste perilous, and perfidious man vnder heauen. But vvhat auailed this, vvhen he had novv receyued the bayte?

The poy-
soning of
sir Ni-
cholas in
a Salate.

This then is to shew the mans good fortune, in seeing them dead, vvhom for causes he vvould not haue to liue. And for his arte of poysoning, it is such novv and reacheth so far, as he holdeth al his foes in Englād and els vvher, as also a good manie of his friendes in feare therof, and if it vvere knownen how manie he hath dispatched or assauled that vvaye, it vvould be meruailous to the posteritie. The late Earle of Sussex vvanted not a scruple for manie yeares before his death, of layne

The Lord
Chamber

Monſieur
Symiers.

ſome dramme receyued that made him incurable. And vnto that noble gentleman, Mōſieur Simiers, is vvas diſcouered by great prouidēce of God, that his lyfe vvas to be attempted by that arte, and that not taking place (as it did not through his ovvne good circumſpection,) it vvas concluded that the ſame ſhould be aſſaulted by violēce, vvherof I ſhal haue occaſion to ſaye more hereafter.

The poi-
ſoning of
the Ladie
Lenox.

It hath byn told me alſo by ſome of the ſeruaunts of the late Ladie Lenox, vvho vvas alſo of the blood Royall by Scotlād as all men knowv, & cōſequentlie lytle lyked by Leceſter: that a lytle before her death or ſyknes, my L. toke the paynes to come and viſit her vvith extraordinarie kyndenes, at her houſe at Hackeny, beſtovvīg lōge diſcourſes vvith her in priuate: but as ſoone as he vvas departed, the good Ladie fell into ſuch a Flux, as by no meanes could be ſtaied ſo long as ſhe had liſſe in her bodie, vvhervpon both ſhe her ſelff, and all ſuch as vv ere neare about her, and ſavv her diſeaſe and ending daye, vv ere fullie of opinion, that my Lorde had procured her diſpatche at his being ther. VVherof let the vvomen that ſerved her be examined as alſo Fovvler that then had the chiefe doinges in her affayres, and ſynce hath byne entertained by my L. of Leceſter. Mallet alſo a ſtraunger borne, that then vvas about her, a ſober and zelous man in religion, and othervvise vvell qualified, can ſay ſomevvhat in this poynt (as I think) if he vv ere demaūded. So that this arte and exerciſe of poyſoning, is much more perfect vvith my Lord then praying and he ſeemeth to take more pleaſure therin.

Novv for the ſecond point, vv which I named, tou-

ching mariages and contractes vvyth vvomen: you must not meruayle though his Lordship be somewhat diuers, variable and inconstant, vvyth himself, for that according to his profit or his pleasure, and as his lust and lyking shal varie (vvherin by the iudgement of all men, he surpasseth, not onlie Sardanapalus and Nero, but euen Heliogabalus himself): so his Lordship also chaungeth vvives and Minions, by killing the one, denying the other, vsing the third for a tyme, and the favvning vpon the fourth. And for this cause he hath his tearmes & pretences (I vvarrant you) of Contractes, Precontractes, Postcontractes, Protractes, and Retractes: as for example: after he had killed his first vvife, and so broken that contract, then forsooth vvould he needes make him self husband to the Q. Ma. and so defeat al other Princes by vertue of his precontract. But after this, his lust compelling him to an other place, he vvould needes make a postcontract vvyth the Ladie Scheffield, and so he did, begetting tyvo children vpon her, the one a boye called Robin Sheffield novv lyuing, some tyme brought vp at Nevvington, and the other a daughter, borne (as is knowven) at Dudley Castle. But yet after, his concupiscence chaunging agayne (as it neuer stayeth) he resolved to make a retracte, of this postcontract, (though it vv ere as surelie done (as I haue said) as Bed and Bible could make the same) & to make a certaine nev v, protract, (vvhich is a contynuation of vsing her for a tyme) vvyth the vv idovv of Essex: But yet to stop the mouthes of-out-cryars, and to burie the Synagogue vvyth some honour, (for thes tyvo vvives of Leycester,

Leycester
moste variable
dealing
vvith
vvemē in
cōtractes
& maria-
ges.

cōtractes

Precon-
tractes.
Postcon-
tractes.

Retract.

Protract.

Leycester
tyvo Te-
staments.

vvere merrilie & vvittilie called his olde and new Testamentes, by a person of great excellencie vvithin the Realm) he vvas content to assigne to the former a thousand poundes in money vvith other petie considerations, (the pitifullest abused that euer vvas poore Ladie) and so betake his lymes to the later, vvwhich later notwithstanding, he so vseth (as vve see) novv confessing, novv forsvvearing, novv dissembling the mariage: as he vvill alvvayes yet kepe a voyde place for a new surcontract vvith anie other, vvhen occasion shall require.

SCHOL.

varius Helio-
gabalus, & his
moste in-
famous
death.

An Epi-
taphe.

Novv by my truth Sir (quoth I) I neuer heard nor red the like to this in my lyfe: yet haue I red much in my tyme, of the carnalitie and lyncentiousnes of diuers outragious persons, in this kind of sinne, as namlie these vvhom you haue mentioned before: especialie the Emperour Heliogabalus vvho passed all other, and vvas called Varius, of the varietie of filth vvwhich he vsed in this kinde of carnalitie, or carnall beastlines. VVhose death vvas: that being at length odious to al men, and so slaine by his ovvn souldiours, vvas dravven through the Citie vpon the ground like a dogge, & caste into the comon priuie, vvith this Epitaphe. *Hic proiectus est indomita et rabide libidinis catulus.* Here is throwven in, the VVhelp of vnrevvlie and raging luste: vvwhich epitaphe, may also one day chance to serue my L. of Lecester (vvhom you call the Beare-vvhelp,) yf he go forvvarde as he hath begonne, and die as he deserueth.

But (good Sir) vvhat a compassion is this, that

amonge vs christians, and namlie in so vvel gouerned, and religious a common vvealth as ours is, such a riot should be permitted vpon mens vviues, in a subiect: vvhervas vve read that among the verie heathēs, lesse offences then these, in the same kinde, vvere extremelie punished in Princes them selues, and that not onlie in the person delinquent alone, but also by extirpatiō of the vvhole familie for his sake, as apeareth in the example of the Tarquinians amonge the Romans. And here also in our ovvn Realm, vve haue registred in Chronicle, how that one king Edvvin aboue six hūdreth years past vvas depriued of his kingdom, for much lesse scandalous factes then thes.

A pitteful
permissiō

The extir
pation of
the Tar-
quinians.

An. Do.
959.

I remēber vvel the storie (quoth the gentleman) & ther by do easilie make cōiecture, vvhath differēce ther is betvvyxt those tymes of olde, & our dayes novv: seing the, a Crovned Prince could not passe unpunished vvyth one or tvvo ontragious actes, vvhervas novv a subiect rayfed vp but yesterday frō the meaner sorte, rangeth at his pleasure in al licentiousnes, and that vwith secutitie, void of feare both of God and man. No mans vwife can be free from him, vvhom his firie lust liketh to abuse, nor their husbādes able to resist nor saue from his violence, if they shew dislike, or vvil not yeeld their cōsent to his doinges. And if I should discover in particular how manie good husbādes he had plagued in this nature, and for suche delites, it vvere intollerable: for his concupiscence & violence doe runne iointlie together, as in furious beastes vve see they are accustomed. Neither holdeth he anie rule in his lust besides onlie the motiō & suggestion of his

GENTL.

The into
lerable li-
centious-
nes of Lei.
carnalitie

ovvn sensualitie. Kinred, affinitie or anie other band of consanguinitie: religion, honour, or honestie taketh no place in his outrageous appetit. VVhat he best liketh that he taketh as lawfull for the tyme. So that kinsvvoman, allie, friendes vvyfe, or daughter, or vvhat soeuer female sorte besides doth please his eye: (I leaue out of purpose and for honour sake tearmes of kinred more neare) that must yeeld to his desire.

The keeping of the mother vvyth tvvo or three of her daughters at once or successiuelie, is no more vvyth him, then the eating of an henne and her chicken together. Ther are not (by reporte) tvvo noble vvomen about her Ma. (I speake vpon some accompt of them that know much) vvhom he hath not solicited by potent vvayes: Neither contented vvyth this place of honour, he hath descended to seek pasture among the vvayting Gentlevvomen of her Ma. great Chamber, offering more for their allurements, then I thinke Lais did commonlie take in Corinthe, if three hundreth poundes for a night, vvill make vp the summe: or if not, yet vvill he make it vp othervvise: hauing reported him self (so litle shame he hath) that he offred to an other of higher place, an hundreth pound landes by the yeare vvith as manie levvells as mooste vvomen vnder her Ma. vsed in England: vvwhich vvvas no meane baite to one that vsed trafique in such marchandize: (he being but the leauinges of an other mā before him, vvherof my L. is nothing squemish, for satisfiying of his lust, but can be content (as they say) to gather vp crōmes vvhen he is Hungrie, euen in the verie Laundrie it self, or

Money
VVell
spent.

Anne Va-
uiser.

other place of baser qualitie.

And albeit the Lord of his great mercie, to do him good, no doubt, if he vvere reuokeable, hath laid his hand vpon him, in some chastisement in this vworld by giuing him a brokē bellie on both sides of his bowvells vverherby miserie & putrifaction is threatned to hym dayly: & to his yōgfōne by the vvidovv of Essex, (being *Filius Peccati*) such a straūge calamitie of the falling sicknes in his infancie,* as vvell maye be a vvitnes of the parētes sinne & vvickednes, and of both their vvasted natures in iniquitie: yet is this man nothing amended therby, but according to the custom of al olde adulterers, is more libidinous at this day then euer before, more giuen to procure loue in others by Cōiuring, Sorcerie, and other such meanes. And albeyt for him self, bothe age, and nature spent, do somewhat tame him from the acte, yet vvanteth he not vvil, as apeareth by the Italian oyntment, procured not manie yeares paste by his Surgyan or Mountybank of that countrie, vverherby (as they say) he is able to moue his flesh at al tymes, for keeping of his credit, hovvsoeuer his inhabilitie be othervvise for performance: as also one of his Phisitians reported to an Erle of this land, that his Lordship had a bottel for his bedehead, of ten Pounds the Pinte to the same effect. But my masters vvwhether are vve fallen, vnaduised? I am as hamed to haue made mētion of so base filthynes.

Not vvvythout good cause (quoth I) but that vve are here alone and no man heareth vs. VVherfore I pray you let vs return vvheras vve lefte: and vvhe you named my L. of Leycesters daughter borne of

The punishment
of God
vpo Leice-
ster, to
do hym
good.

* The
children
of adul-
terers shal
be consu-
med, and
the seede
of a vvic-
ked bedd
shalbero-
red out,
saith god
Sap. 3.

Leicester
oyntmēt.

Leicester
bottel.

SCHOL.

the Ladie Sheffield in Dudley Castle, ther came into my head a pretie storie concerning that affaire, vvhich novv I vvill recompt (though somevvhat out of order) therby to dravv you from the further stirring of this vnsauerie pudle, & fovvle dunghill, vvhereunto vve are slipped, by folovving my Lord somvvhat to far in his pathes & actions.

A pretie
deuise.

VVherfore to tell you the tale as it fell out: I grevv acquainted thes monethes paste vvith a certaine Minister, that novv is dead, & vvas the same man that vvas vsed at Dudley Castle, for complemēt of some Sacred ceremonies at the birth of my Lord of Ley. daughter in that place: & the mater vvas so ordeyned, by the vvylie vvrit of him that had sowed the seed, that for the better conerīg of the haruest & secret deliuerie of the Ladie Scheffielde: the good vvife of the Castle also (vvherby Ley. appointed gossippes, might vvithout other suspition haue accessse to the place) should feigne her self to be vvith childe, & after long & sore trauail (god vvote) to be deliuered of a qvvys hē (as she vvas indeed) & a litle after a faire Coffin vvas buried vvith a bundell of cloutes in shevv of a childe: & the Minister caused

Anaethc of Atheisme to vse al accoustomed prayers and ceremonies for the solēne interrīg therof - for vvich thing, aftervvard, before his death he had great grief & remors of cōsciēce, vvith no small detestatiō of the moste irreligious deuise of my L. of Ley. in such a case.

L A V V. Here the Lavv. began to laugh a pace both at the deuise & at the Minister, & said novv truely if my L. contractes hold no better, but hath so manie infirmities, vvith subtilties, and by-places besides: I vvould be lothe that he vvere married to my daughter, as meane as she is.

But yet (quoth the Gentleman) I had rather of GENT.
the tvvoe be his vvyfe for the tyme then his gest:
especialie yf the Italiā Surgiā or Phisitiō be at hand.

True it is, (said the lavvyer) for he doth not LAVV.
poyson his vvyues, vvherof I somvvhat maruaile,
especialie his first vvyfe, I muse vvhy he chose ra-
ther to make her avvaye by open violence, then by
some Italian Confortiue.

Hereof (said the Gentleman) may be diuers GENT.
reasons alleged. First that he vvas not at that tyme
so skilful in those Italian vvares, nor had about
him so fit Phisitiās & Surgians for the purpose: nor
yet in trueth do I thinke that his minde vvas so
setled then in mischæse, as it hath bene sithence.
For you knowv, that men are not desperat the first
daye, but doe enter into vvickednes by degrees, and
vvyth some doubt or staggering of conscience at
the beginning. And so he at that tyme might be de-
sirous to haue his vvyfe made avvay, for that she
letted him in his designemētes, but yet not so stonie
harted as to appoint out the particular maner of
her death, but rather to leaue that, to the discretion
of the murderer.

Secondlie it is not also vnliklie that he prescribed
vnto Sir Rich. Varney at his going thither, that he
should first attempt to kil her by poyson, & yf that
toke not place then by anie other vvay to dispatch
her, howv soeuer. This I proue by the report of olde
Doctōr Baylye vvho then liued in Oxeforde (an
other maner of man then he vvho novv lyueth
about my Lord of the same name) & vvas professor
of the Phisick Lecture in the same vniuersitie. This
learned graue man reported for moſte certaine,

The First
reason
vvhy Ley.
ſlew his
vvife by
violence,
rather thē
by poyſō.

The ſe-
cond rea-
ſon.

Doctōr
Baylye
the elder.

that ther vvas a practize in Cumner among the conspiratours, to haue poysoned the poore Ladie a litle before she vvas killed, vvhich vvas attempted in this order.

A practise
for poyso-
ning the
la: Dudley

They seing the good Ladie sad and heauy (as one that vvel knew by her other handling that her death vvas not far of) began to persvade her, that her disease vvas abundance of Melancholie and other humours, & therefore vvoulde needes counsaile her to take some potion, vvhich she absolutlie refusing, to do, as suspecting stil the vvorst: they sent one daye, (vnavvares to her) for Doctor Baylie, and desired him to persvade her to take some litle Potion at his handes, and they vvould send to fetch the same at Oxeforde vpon his prescription, meaning to haue added also somvvhat of their ovvn for her comfort, as the Doctor vpon iuste causes suspected, seeing their great importunitie, and the smal need vvhich the good Ladie had of Phisike, & therfor he flatlie denied their request, misdoubting (as he after reported) least yf they had poisoned her vnder the name of his Potion: he might after haue bene hanged for a couer of their sinne. Marie the said Doctor remayned vvel assured that this vvay taking no place, she should not long escape violence as after ensued. And the thing vvas so beaten into the heades of the principal me of the vniuersitie of Oxeford, by thes and other meanes: as for that she vvas found murdered (as al men said) by the Crovvners inquest, and for that she being hastelie and obscurelie buried at Cumner (vvhich vvas condemned aboue as not aduisedlie done) my good Lord, to make plane to the vvorld

the great loue he bare to her in her lyfe, and vvhath a gryef the losse of fo vertuous a Lady vvas to his tender hart, vvould needes haue her taken vp againe and reburied in the vniuersitie church at Oxeford, vvyth great Pomp and solemnitie: That Doctor Babington my L. chaplaine, making the publique funeral Sermon at her second buryall, tript once or twice in his speach, by recommending to ther memories that vertuous Ladie so pittfullie murdered, in stead of so pittifullie flaine.

Doctor
Babington

A third cause of this maner of the Ladies death, may be the dispositiō of my Lordes nature: vvwhich is bold and violent vvher it feareth no resistaunce (as all covvardly natures are by kinde) and vvhere anie difficultie or daunger apeareth, ther, more redie to attempt al by arte, subtiltie, treason and trecherie. And so for that he doubted no great resistaunce in the poore Ladie to vvythstand the handes of them vvwhich should offer to breake her necke: he durst the bolder attempt the same openlie.

A Third
reason.

But in the men vvhom he poysoned, for that they vvvere such valiaunt knightes the moste parte of them, as he durst as soone haue eaten his scabbard, as dravve his svvorde in publique against them: he vvas inforced, (as al vvretched ireful and dastardlie creatures are) to supplant them by fraud and by other mens handes. As also at other tymes he hath sought to do vnto diuers other noble and valiaunt personages, vvhen he vvas a feard to meet them in the field as a knight should haue done.

His treacheries tovvardes the noble late Earle of Suffex in their manie breaches, is notorious to al England. As also the bloodie practizes against diuers others.

The intē-
ded mur-
der of M^o
sieur Si-
miers by
sundrye
meanes.

But as among manie, none vvere more odious & misliked of all men, then those against Monsieur Simiers a straunger & Ambassador: vvhom first he practised to haue poysoned (as hath bene touched before) & vvhē that deuise toke not place, thē he appointed that Robin Tider his man (as after vpon his ale bench he confessed) should haue slaine him at the blacke friars at Grenevvich as he vvent furth at the garden gate: but missing also of that purpose, for that he found the Gentleman better prouided and guarded then he expected, he delt vvyth certayne Fluss hyners and other Pyrates to sinke him at sea vvyth the Englishe Gentlemen his fauourers, that accompanied him at his retorne into Fraunce. And though they missed of this practize also, (as not daring to set vpon him for feare of some of her Ma. shippes, vvhō, to break of this designement attended by special commaundement, to vvasste him ouer in safitie) yet the foresaid English Gentlemen, vvere holden fover hovvers in chace at their comming backe: as M. Ravvley vvel knowveth being then present, and tivo of the Chacers named Clark and Harris confessed aftervvard the vvhole designement.

The intē-
ded mur-
der of the
Earle of
Ormond.

The Earle of Ormond in like vvyse hath often declared, and vvill auovvch it to my Lord of Leycesters face, vvhē so euer he shalbe called to the same, that at such tyme as this man had a quarell vvyth him and therby vvas like- lie to be enforced to the fielde (vvhicke he trembled to thinke of) he first soughte by all meanes to get him made avvay by secret mur-

der, offeringe fīue hundreth poundes for the doing therof: and secondlie vwhen that deuise toke no place, he appointed vvyth him the fīelde, but Secretlie suborning his seruante VVyllm. Killegre to lye in the vwaye vwhere Ormonde shoulde passe, and so to massaker him vvyth a Calliuer, before he came to the place appointed. VVhich murder thoughte it toke no effecte, for that the matter vvas taken vp, before the day of meetinge: yet vvas Killigre placed aftervvarde in her Ma. Priuie Chamber by Leycester, for shewing his redie minde, to do for his master so faythful a seruice.

VVyllm
Killegre

So faithfull a seruice (quoth I?) truelie, in my opinion, it vvas but an vnfit preferment, for so facinorouse a facte. And as I vvoulde be lothe that manie of his Italians, or other of that arte, shoulde come nighe aboute her Ma. kitchen: so muche lesse vvould I, that manie suche his bloodie Champions, shoulde be placed by him in her highnesse chamber. Albeit for this Gentleman in particulare, it may be, that vvyth chaunge of his place in seruice, he hath chaunged also his minde and affection, and receyued better instruction in the feare of the Lorde.

SCHOL.

But yet in generall I muste needes say, that it cannot be but preiudicial & exceeding daungerous vnto our noble Prince and Realm, that anie one mā vvhatsoever (especialie such a one as the vvorld taketh this man to be) shoulde growv to so absolute authoritie and commaundrie in the Court, as

Preoccup
tion of
her Ma.
person.

to place about the Princesse person (the head, the hart, the lyf of the land) vvhath so euer people liketh him best, & that not vpon their deserttes to vvarde the Prince, but to vvarde him self: vvhose fidelitie being more obliged to their aduaūcer then to their soueraign, do serue for vwatchmen about the same, for the pfit of him, by vvhos apointmēt they vvere placed. VVho by their meanes casting indeed but Nettles & Chaynes, & iuisible bādes about that person, vvhō moſte of al he pretēdeth to serue, he shutteth vp his Prince in a prison moſte ſure, though ſvveet and ſenſeleſſe.

An ordi-
narie
vwaye of
aſpiring
by preo-
cupation
of the
Princes
person

A Com-
pariſon.

Neither is this arte of aſpiring nevv or ſtraunge vnto anie man that is experienced in affaires of former tyme: for that it hath bene from the beginning of al gouernment a troden path of al aſpirers. In the ſtoꝛies both Sacred and Prophane, ſorrein and domeſtical of al natiōs, kingdomes, countries, and ſtates you ſhal reade, that ſuch as meant to mount aboue other, and to gouern al at their ovvn diſcretion: did laye this for the firſt ground and principle of their purpoſe: to poſſeſſe them ſelues of al ſuch, as vvere in place about the principal: eue as he vvhō intending to holde a great Citie at his ovvn diſpoſition, nor dareth make open vvarre againſt the ſame: getteth ſecretlie into his handes or at his deuotion, al the Tovvnes, Villages, Caſtles, Fortreſſes, Bulvarkes, Rampires, vvaters, vvayes, Portes and paſſages, about the ſame, and ſo vvith out dravving anie ſvvord againſt the ſaid Citie, he bringeth the ſame into bondage to abide his vvil & pleaſure.

This did all theſe in the Romane Empire, vvhō
roſe

rose from subiectes to be great Princes, and to put downe Emperours. This did al those in Fraunce and other kingdomes, vvho at fundrie tymes haue tyrānized their Princes. And in our ovvn countrie the examples are manifest of Vortiger, Harolde, Henrye of Lancaster, Rycharde of VVarvvyk, Richard of Glocester, Iohn of Nortumberland and diuers others, vvho by this meane specialie, haue pulled downn their Lawvful soueraignes.

And to speake onlie a vvord or tvvo of the last, for that he vvas this mans father: doth not al England knovv, that he first ouerthrevv the good Duke of Sommerfet, by dravving to his deuotion the verie seruauntes and friendes of the said Duke? And aftervvard did not he possesse him self of the kinges ovvn person, and brought him to the end vvich is knovvē, & before that, to the moste shāful disheriting of his ovvn Royal Sisters: & al this, by possessing first the principall mē, that vv ere in authoritie about him?

The vvay
of aspirig
in Duke
Dudley.

VVherfore Sir yf my Lord of Leycester haue the same plot in his head (as most men think) and that he meaneth one daye to giue the same pushe at the Crovv by the house of Huntington, against al the race and line of king Henrie the seuenth in general. vvich his father gaue before him, by pretence of the house of Suffolk, against the children of king Henrie the eight in particular: he vvanteth not reason to folovv the same meanes & platform of planting special persons, for his purpose about the Prince for surelie his fathers plot lacked no vvittie device or preparation, but onlie that God ouerthrevv it at the instant: as happelie he may doe this mans) also,

notwithstanding any diligence that humane wisdom can vse to the contrarie.

GENTL. To this said the Gentleman: that my Lord of Leicester hath a purpose to shoot one day at the Diademe by the title of Huntington, is not a thing obscure in it self, and it shalbe more plainelie proued heerafter. But now vvil I shew vnto you, for your instruction, how yvel this man hath folowed his fathers platform (or rather passed the same) in possessing him self of al her Ma. seruants, friendes, and forces, to serue his turne at that tyme for execution, and in the meane space for preparation.

Leycester
pouer in
the priuy
chamber.

First in the Priuie chamber, next vnto her Ma. person, the mooste parte are his ovn creatures (as he calleth them) that is, such as acknowvledg their being in that place, from him: and the rest he so ouer-ruleth either by flatterie or feare, as none may dare but to serue his turn. And his reigne is so absolute in this place, (as also in al other partes of the Court) as nothing can passe but by his admission, nothig can be said, done, or signified, vtherof he is not particularly aduertised: no bill, no supplicatiō, no complainte, no sure, no speach, can passe from anie man to the Princeesse (except it be from one of the Councell) but by his good lyking: or if ther do: he being admonished therof (as presently he shal:) the partie delinquēt is sure after to abide the smart therof. VVherby he holdeth as it vvere a lock vpo the cares of his Prince, and the tougues of al her Ma. seruantes, so surelie chained to his girdle, as no man dareth to speake anie one thing that may offend him, though it be neuer so true or behouefull for hir Ma. to knowve.

Leycester
married

As vvel appeared in his late mariage vvith Dame

Essex, vvhich albeit it vvas celebrated twise: first at Killingworth, and secondlie at VVaensteade (in the presence of the Erle of vvarvvick, L. North, Sir Fran. Knooles & others) and this exactly knowen to the vvhole Court, vvith the verie daye, the place, the vvitnesses, and the Minister that married them together: yet no man durst open his mouth to make her Ma. priue therunto, vntil Monsieur Simiers disclosed the same, (and therby incurred his high displeasure) nor yet in manie dayes after for feare of Leycester. VVhich is a subiection most dishonorable & dangerous to anie Prince liuing, to stand at the deuotion of his subiect, vvhat to heare or not to heare, of thinges that passe vvithin his ovvne Realme.

And hereof it folovveth that no sute can preuaile in Court, be it neuer so meane, except he first be made acquainted thervvith, and receiue not onlie the thanks, but also be admitted vnto a great part of the gaine & commoditie therof. VVhich, as it is a great iniurie to the suter: so is it a far more greater to the boürre, honour & security of the Prince, by vvhole liberalitie this man feedeth onlie, & fortifieth him self, depriuing his soueraign of al grace, thanks, & good vvil for the same. For vvhich cause also he giueth out ordinarilie, to euery suter, that her Ma. is nigh & parsimonious of her self, & very difficile to graunt anie sute, vvhere it not onlie vpon his incessant solicitation. VVherby he filleth his ovvn purse the more, & emptieth the harts of such as receiue benefit, from due thanks to their Princess for the sute obtayned.

Hereof also ensueth, that no man may be pre-

at vvaen-
steade
vvhen
her Ma.
vvas at
M. Sto-
ners hous
Doctor
Culpeper
Phisitian
Minister.

No sute
can passe
but by
Leycester
Reade

Polidore
in the 7.
yeare of
K Rich. 1.
and yovv
shal finde
this pro-
ceding of
certaine
aboute
that K. r.
be put as
a great
cause of
his ouer-

throw.

No pre-
ferments
but by
Leycester
to Leyce-
strians.

ferred in Court (be he othervvise neuer so vvell a deseruing seruaunt to her Ma. except he be one of Leycesters faction or folovvers: none can be aduaunced, except he be lyked and prefered by him: none receyue grace, except he stand in his good fauour, no one may liue in countenance, or quiet of life, except he take it, vse it, and acknowv- ledg it from him, so as al the fauours, graces, digni- ties, prefermentes riches and revvardes, vvwhich her Ma. bestovveth, or the Realm can yeeld: muste serue to purchase this man priuate friendes, and fa- vourers, onlie to aduaunce his partie, and to forti- fie his factiō. VVhich factiō if by thes meanes it be great, (as indeed it is:) you may not maruaile, seing the riches and vvealth, of so vvorthie a common vveal, do serue him but for a price to buy the same.

Leycester
anger &
insolencie.

VVhich thing him self vvell knowving, frameth his spirit of proceeding accordinglie. And first, vpon confidence therof, is become so insolent & impo- tent of his Ire that no man may beare the same, hovv iustlie or iniustlie so euer it be conceiued: for albeit he begin to hate a man vpon bare surmises onlie (as commonlie it falleth out, ambition being allvvaies the mother of suspition) yet he prosecu- teth the same, vvvyth such implacable crueltie, as ther is no long abyding for the partie in that place. As might be sh-vved by the examples of manie vvhom he hath chased from the Court, vpon his onlie displeasure, vvvythout other cause, being kno- vven to be othervvise zealous protestantes. As Sir Ierome Bovves, M. George Scot and others that vve could name.

To this insolencie is also ioyned (as by nature it folovveth) moste absolute and peremptorie dea-

OF A SCHOLAR OF CAMBRIGE. SI

ling in al thinges vvhetherof it pleaseth him to dispose, vvythout respect either of reason, order, due, right, subordination, custom, conueniencie, or the like: vvhetherof nor vvythstandinge Princes themselves are vvwont to haue regarde in disposition of their matters: as for example amonge the seruantes of the Q. Ma. household, it is an auncient and moste commendable order & custom, that vvhena place of higher rounge fallerth voyd, he that by succession is next, & hath made proof of his vvor-thynes in an inferior place, should rise and possesse the same, (except it be for some extraordinarie cause) to the end that no man vnexperienced or vntried, should be placed in the higher roomes the first daye, to the preiudice of others, and disservice of the Prince.

Leicester
peremp-
torie dea-
ling.

VVhich moste reasonable custom, this man con-temning & breaking at his pleasure, thrusteth into higher rounes anie person vvhatsoeuer, so he like his inclination or feele his rewarde: albeit he neither be fit for the purpose, nor haue bene so much as clark in anie inferior office before.

Breaking
of order
in her
Maiestie
house-
holde.

The like he vseth out of the Court, in all other places vvhether matters should passe by order election or degree: as in the vniuersities, in election of Scholars and heades of houses, in Ecclesiastical persons, for dignities of church, in officers, Magistrates, stevvardes of landes, Shiryues and Knights of the shiers, in Burgeses of the parliament, in commissioners, iudges, iustices of the peace, (vvhetherof many in euerie shire must vveare his lyuerey) and al other the like: vvhether this mans vvill, must stand for reason, and his Lettrets for absolute lawes, nei-

Leicester.
violating
of al or-
dre in the
countrie
abrode.

ther is there anie man, magistrat, or communer in the Realme, vwho dareth not sooner denie ther petition of her Ma. letters, vpon iust causes (for that her highnesse is content after to be satisfiied vvyth reason) then to resist the commaundment of this mans letters, vwho vvil admit no excuse or satisfiacion, but onelie the execution of his said commandement, be it right or vvrong.

L A V V. To this answered the lavvyer, novv verelie (Sir) you paynte vnto me a straunge paterne of a perfect Potentate in the Court: belike that staunger, vwho calleth our state in his prynted booke

A Leicef-
tiane
common
vvealth.

Leicestrensem rempublicam, a Leicestrian cōmon vvealth, or the common vvealth of my Lord of Leycester, knowveth much of thes maters. But to hold (Sir) stil vvithin the Court: I assure you that by cōsiderations, vvwhich you haue laid dovvn, I do begin novv to perceave, that his partie must needs be verie great and stronge vvvythin the said Court, seing that he hath so many vvayes & means to encrease, enrich, and encourage the same, and so strong abilities, to treade dovvn his enemies. The cōmon spech of many vvāteth not reasō I perceiue, vvwhich caleth him the hart & life of the Court.

GENTL.

Leycester
called the
harte and
life of the
Court.

They vvwhich cal him the hart (said the Gentleman) vpon a litle occasion more, vvould cal him also the head: and then I maruaile vvhat shoulde be left for hir Ma. vvhen they take from her both life, harte, and headship in her ovvn Realm? But the trueth is, that he hath the Court at this day, in almoste the same case, as his farther had it, in king Edwards dayes, by the same deuice, (the Lord forbid, that euer it come fullie to the same state, for then

we knowe what ensued to the principal:) and yf you vvyll haue an euident demonstration of this mans powver and fauour in that place: cal you but to minde the tymes vwhen her Ma. vpon moste iust and vrgent occasions, did vvyth-draue, but a litle her vounted fauour and contenance towarde him: did not al the Court as it vvere, mutinie presentlie? did not euerie man hang the lippe? except a few, vwho afterward paid svvetlie for their mirth. vwere ther not euerie daye new deuises sought out, that some should be on their knees to her Ma. some should vvepe & put finger in their eyes: other should finde out certaine couert maner of threatening: other reasons and persvasions of loue: other of profit: other of honour: other of necessitie: & al to get him recalled back to fauour againe? And had her Ma. anie rest permitted vnto her, vntil she had yeelded and graunted to the same?

Consider then (I pray you) that yf at that tyme, in his disgrace, he had his faction so fast assured to himself: vwhat hath he now in his prosperitie, after so many years of fortification? vwherein by al reason he hath not bene negligēt, seing that in policy the first point of good fortificatiō is, to make that fort impregnable, vwhich once hath bene in daunger to be lost. VWhereof you haue an exāple in Rich. Duke of York, in the tyme of K. Henry the sixt, vwho being once in the kinges handes by his ovn submissiō, & dismissed again (vvhē for his deserts he should haue suffred: prouided after, that the king should neuer be able to ouer-reache him the secōd tyme, or haue him in his powver to doe hym hurt, but made him self strong enough to pul down the other vvyth extirpation of his familie.

A demō-
stratiō of
Leyc Ty-
rannie in
the Court

Leyc. pro-
uideth
neuer to
come in
the Q.
daunger
againc.

Anno
Regni. 31.

Ley puif-
fance in
the priuie
Coucell.

L. Keeper
L. Cham-
berlaine.

And this of the Court, housholde and Chamber of her Ma. But novv if vve shal passe from Court to Councel, vve shal finde him no lesse fortyfied but rather more: for albeit the prouidence of God hath bene such, that in this moste honorable assemblie, ther hath not vvanted some tvvoe or three of the vvifest, grauest, and moste experienced in our state, that haue seene and marked this mās perilous proceedings from the beginning, (vvherof not vvyst- standing tvvo are novv disceased, and their places supplied to Leycesters good liking:) yet (alas) the vvifdom of thes vvorthie mē, hath discovered alvvayes more, then their authorities vv ere able to redresse: (the others great povver and violence considered) and for the residue of that benche and table, though I doubt not but there be diuers, vvho do in hart detest his doinges (as ther vv ere also, no doubt among the Councillors of king Edvvard, vvho misliked this mans fathers attemptes, though not so hardie as to contrarie the same:) yet for moste parte of the Councell present, they are knowven to be so affected in particular, the one for that he is to him a brother, the other a father, the other a kinsmā, the other an allie, the other a fast obliged friend the other a fellowv or folovver in faction, as none vv il stand in the breach against him: none dare resist or encounter his designements: but euerie man yeelding rather to the force of his flowve, permit- teth him to pearce, & passe at his pleasure, in vvhat soeuer his vv il is once settled to obtaine.

And hereof (vv ere I not stayed for respect of some vvhom I may not name) I could alledge straunge examples, not so much in affaires belonging to

subiectes and to priuate men, (as vvere the cases of Snovvden forrest, Denbigh, of Killingvvorth, of his faire Pastures fovvlie procured by Southam, of the Archbishop of Caturburie, of the L. Barkley. of Sir Iohn Throgmartō, of M. Robinson, and the like,) vvherin those of the Councell that disliked his doinges, least dared to oppose them selues to the same: but also in thinges that appertaine directly to the Crovvn & dignitie, to the state and commō vveale, and to the safitie and continuance therof. It is not secure for anie one Coucellor, or other of authoritie, to take notice of my Lordes errors or misdeedes, but vvith extreme peril of ther ovvn ruin.

Maters
vvherin
the Cou-
cel are in-
forced to
vvink at
Leycester

As for example: in the beginning of the rebellion in Ireland, vvhen my Lord of Leycester vvvas in some disgrace, and consequentlie, as he imagined but in fraile state at home, he thought it not vnexpedient, for his better assurance, to hold some intelligence also that vvaye, for al enentes, and so he did: vvherof ther vvvas so good euidence and testimony found, vpon one of the first of accompt, that vvvas there flaine, (as honorable personages of theyre knowvledge haue assured me) as vvoulde haue bene sufficient, to touch the lyfe of aine subiect in the land, or in anie state Christian, but onelie my Lord of Leycester: vvho is a subiect vvithout subiection.

Leycester
intelligē-
ce vvith
the rebel-
liō in Ire-
lande.

For vvhat think you? durst anie man take notice hereof, or auovvche that he had seene thus much? durst he that tooke it in Ireland, deliuer the same vvher especialy he should haue done? or they vvho receyued it in Englād, (for it came to great handes,) vse it to the benefit of their Princeesse and countrie?

Acteons
case now
come in
England

No surelie : for yf it had bene but onelie suspected, that they had seene such a thing, it vvould haue bene as daungerous vnto them, as it vvas to Acteon to haue sene Diana & her maydens naked : vvwhose case is so common novv in England as nothing more, & so do the examples of diuers vvell declare: vvwhose vnfortunate knowlege of to many secrets, brought them quicklie to vnfortunate endes.

Saluatore
Slaine in
his bed

For vve heare of one Saluatore a straunger, long vsed in great Mysteries of base affaires and dishonest actions, vvho aftervvard (vvpon vvhat demerite I knowv not) susteined a hard fortune, for being late vvith my Lord in his studie, (vvell neare vntill midinght, (yf I be rightelie informed) vvvent home to his chambre, and the next morning vvas founde slayne in his bed. VVe heare also of one Doughty Doughtie, hāged in hast by Captaine Drake vpon the sea, and that by order (as is thought) before his departure out of England, for that he vvas ouer pryue to the Secretes of this good Erle.

Doughty
hāged by
Drake.

The story
of Gates
hāged at
Tiborne.

Ther vvas also this last sommer past, one, Gates hanged at ~~Tiborne~~ ^{Westford}, amonge others, for robbing of Carriars, vvwhich Gates had bene latelie clark of my Lords kitchinge, and had layed out much mony of his ovvne, (as he said) for my L. prouision, being also othervvise, in so greate fauour and grace vvith his L. as no man lyuing vvas thought to be more priuy of his secrets thē this mā, vvher vpo also it is to be thought, that he presumed the rather to commit this robberie, (for to such thinges doth my Lorde's good fauour most extende:) and being apprehēded & in daunger for the same, he made his recourse to his honour for, protestiō, (as the fashion

is) and that he might be borne out, as diuers of lesse merite had bene by his Lordship, in more heynous causes before him.

The good Erle answered his seruant and deare Priuado curteouslie, and assured him, for his lyffe, how so euer for vtter shevv or complement the forme of law might passe against him. But Gates seing him self cōdemned, & nothing novv betvven his heade and the halter, but the vvorde of the Magistrate vvwhich might come in an instante, vvhen it vvould be to late to send to his Lorde: remembring also the smal assurance of his said Lords vvord by his former dealinges tovvardes other men, vvherof this man vvvas to much pryue: he thought good to sollicit his case also by some other of his frindes, though not so puisant as his L. and master, vvho dealinge in deed, both diligentlie and effectuellie in his affaire, founde the mater more difficult a great deal then ether he or they had imagined: for that my Lord of Leycester, vvvas not onely not his fauorer, but a great hastener of his death vnder hād and that vvith such care, diligence, vehemencie, and irresistable meanes, (hauing the law also on his syde,) that ther vvvas no hope at all of escaping: vvwhich thing vvhen Gates heard of, he easelie believed for the experience he had of his Masters good nature, and said, that he alvvayes mistrusted the same, considering how much his Lordship vvvas in debt to him, and he made pryue to his Lordship fovvle secretes, vvwhich secrets he vvould, ther presently haue vttered in the face of all the vvorld, but that he feared tormētes or speedie death, vvith some extraordinarie crueltie, if he should so haue

donne, and therefore he disclosed the same onely to a Gentleman of vvorshippe, vvhom he trusted specialle, vvwhose name I may not vtter for some causes (but it beginneth vvith H.) & I am in hope ere it be long, by means of a friēd of myne, to haue a sight of that discourse & reporte of Gates, vvwhich hytherto I haue not sene nor euer spake I vvith the Gētleman that keepeth it, though I be vvell assured that the vvhole mater passed insubstance as I haue here recounted it.

SCHOL.

This relation of Gates, may serue hereafter for an addition in the secōd editiō of this booke

VVherunto I answered, that in good faith it vvwere pittye that this relation should be lost, for that it is very lyke, that many rare thinges be declared therein, seing it is donne by a man so priue to the affayres them selves, vvherin also he had bene vsed an instrument. I vvill haue it (quoth the Gentleman) or els my friendes shall fayle me, howbeit not so soone as I vvould, for that he is in the vvest countrie that should procure it for me, & vvill not returne for certaine monethes, but after I shall see him agayne, I vvill not leaue him vntil he procure it for me, as he hath promised. vvell (quoth I,) but vvhat is become of that euidence founde in Ireland vnder my Lords hand, vvwhich no man dare pursue, auouch, or behold.

GENTL.

Treulie (said the Gentilman) I am informed that it lyeth safelie reserued in good custodie, to be brought furth and auovvched, vvhen so ouer it shall please God so to dispose of her Ma. hart, as to lend an indifferent care, asvvell to his accusers, as to him self, in iudgement.

Neither must you think, that this is straunge, nor that the thinges are fevv, vvwhich are in such sorte

referred in deck for the tyme to come, euen among great personages, and of high calling, for seing the present state of his povver to be such, and the tempest of his tyrannie to be so strong and boisterous, as no man may stand in the rage therof, without petil, for that euen from her Ma. her self, in the lenitie of her Princelie nature, he extorteth vwhat he designeth, either by fraud, flattery, false informatiō, request, pretence, or violent importunitie, to the ouer-bearing of al, vvhom he meaneth to oppresse: No maruaile then though manie euen of the best and faythfullest subiectes of the land, do yeeld to the present tyme, and do keep silence in some matters, that othervvise they vvould take it for duetie to vtter.

The deck
referred
for Ley-
cester.

Leycester
puyssant
vyolence
vvith the
Prince
her self.

And in this kinde, it is not long sithence a vvorshipful and vvise friende of myne tolde me a testimonie in secret, from the mouth of as noble and graue a Councillor, as England hath enioyed thes manie hundreth yeares: I meane the late L. Chamberlayne, vvith vvhom my said friend being alone at his house in London, nor tventie daies before his death, conferred somvvhat familiarlie about thes and like maters, as vvith a true father of his countrie and common vvealth: and after manie complaintes in the behalfe of diuers, vvho had opened their griefes vnto Councillors, and saue that no notice vvould be taken therof: the said noble man, turning him self somvvhat about from the vvater (for he satte neare his pond syde, vvher he beheld the taking of a pike or carpe) said to my friend: It is no maruaile (Sir) for vvho dareth intermedle him self in my Lords affaires? I vvil tel you

The Erle
of Sussex
his speech
of the Erl
of Leices.

The L.
Burghlei.

(quoth he) in confidence betwven you and me, there is as vvyse a man and as graue, and as faythful a Councillor, as England breedeth, (meaning thereby the L. Treasurer) vvho hath asmuch in his keeping of Leycesters ovvn hand vvriting, as is sufficient to hang him, if either he durst present the same to her Ma. or her Ma. do iustice vvhen it should be presented. But indeed (quoth he) the time permitteth neither of them both, & therefore it is in vaine for anie man to struggle vvith him.

Thes vv ere that noble mans vvordes, vvherby you may consider vvwhether my L. of Leicester be strong this daye in Councell or no: and vvwhether his fortification be sufficient in that place.

Leycester
povver in
the coun-
try abroad

But novv if out of the Councell, vve vvil turne but our eye in the countrie abroad, vve shal finde as good fortification also ther, as vve haue perved alredie in Court and Councell: and shal vv el perceiue that this mans plot, is no fond or indiscrete plot, but excellent vv el grounded, and such as in all proportions hath his due correspondence.

Consider then, the chiefe and principal partes of this land for martiall affaires, for vse and commoditie of armoure, for strength, for opportunitie, for libertie of the people, as dvvelling farthest off from the presence and aspect of their Prince, such partes (I saye) as are fittest for sudden enterprises, vvithout daunger of interception: as are the Northe, the VVest, the countries of VVales, the Ilandes round about the land, and sundry other places vv ythin the same: Are they not all at this day at his disposition? are they not all (by his procurement) in the onelie handes of his friendes and allies? or of such, as by other matches, haue the same complot and

purpose vvith him?

In York is president, the man that of al other is fittest for that place, that is, his nearest in affinitie, his dearest in friendship, the head of his faction, & open competitor of the Scepter. In Barvvik is Captaine, his vvyues vncle, moſte assured to him self & Huntinghtō, as one vvho at conuenient tyme, may as much aduaunce their designementes, as anie one man in England.

In VVales the chiefe authoritie from the Prince, is in his ovvn brother in lavv: but among the people, of natural affectiō, is in the Earle of Penbrook: vvho both by Mariage of his sisters daughter is made his allie, and by dependence is knowven to be vvholie, at his dispositiō. The vvest parre of Englād is vnder Bedford, a man vvholie deuoted to his & the Puritanes faction. In Irelād vvvas gouernour of late the principall instrument appointed for their purposes: both in respect of his heat, and affection tovvard their designementes, as also of some secret discontentment, vvwhich he hath tovvardes her Ma. and the state present for certaine harde & speeches and ingrate recompences, as he pretendeth: but indeed for that he is knowven to be of nature fyrie, and impatient of staye, from seeing that common vvealth on foote, vvwhich the next competitours for their gayne, haue paynted out to him and such others, more pleasaunte then the Terrestrial Paradise it self.

This thē is the Hector, this is the Ajax, appoited for the enterprise, vvhen the tyme shal come. This must be (for looth) an other Richard of VVarvvik, to gaine the Crovvn for Hérie the ninth of the house of York: as the other Richard did put dovvn Hérie

Yorke
Erle of
Hunting
ton.

Barvvick.
The L.
Hunſdē.

VVales.
Sir Hérie
Sidney.
The Er. of
Pēbrook.
The vvest
Earle of
Bedford.

The L.
Grey.
† Her Ma.
(as he
saith for
stricking
of M. For-
tescue cal-
led him
lame vvre-
tch: that
gryeued
hym so,
(for that
he vvvas
hurt in
her seruice
at Lyeth)
as he said,
he vvould
line to be
revenge.

the sixt of the house of Lácaster, & placed Edvvard the fourth, from vvhom Huntington deriueth his title: therfore this man is necessarilie to be enter- teyned from tyme to tyme, (as vve see novv he is) in some charge and martial action, to the end his experience, povver, and credit may grovv the more, and he be able at the tyme to haue souldiours at his commaundement. And for the former charge vvhich helde of late in Ireland, as this man had not bene called avvay, but for execution of some other secret purpose,* for aduancement of their designe- mēts: so be vvell assured that for the tyme to come, it is to be furnished agayne vvith a sure and fast friend to Leycester and to that faction.

* In Scot-
lād or els
vvhere, a
gaynst
the next
īheritors
or presēt
possessor.

Sir Ihon
Parotte.

Sir Edvv.
Horsey.
Sir Georg
Carevv.

Sir Amias
Paulet.
Sir Tho-
mas Lay-
ton.

In the Ile of VVyght I graunt that Levcester hath lost a great friend and a trustie seruauit by the death of Captaine Horsey, but yet the mater is sup- plied by the succession of an other, no lesse assured vnto him, then the former, or rather more, through the bāde of affinitie by his vvife. The tvvollandes of Gersey and Gernsey are in the possession of tvvove friēds & most obliged depēdētes. The one, by reasō he is exceedingly addicted to the Puritane procedīgs: the other, as novv being ioyned vnto him by the mariage of Mistres Besse his vvives sister, both daughters to Sir Frauncis, or (at least) to my Ladie Knooles, and so become a riuale, companion and brother, vvho vvvas before (thoughe trustie) yet but his seruauit.

And thes are the chiefe Keyes, Fortresses, and Bulvvarkes, vvithin, vvithout & about the realm, vvwhich my Lord of Leyces. possessing, (as he doth,) he may be assured of the bodie vvithin: vvher
not vvith-

notwithstanding (as hath bene shewed) he wanteth no due preparation for strength: hauing at his disposition (besides al aydes and other helpes specified before) her Ma. horse, and stables, by interest of his owne office: her Armour, Artilerie and Munition, by the office of his brother the Erle of Warvvick. The Towver of London and treasure therein, by the dependence of Sir Ovyne Hopton his sworne seruaunt, as redie to receyue and furnish him with the vvhole (yf occasion serued) as one of his predecessors was, to receyue his father in K. Edwardes dayes, for the lyke effect, against her Ma. and her sister.

Her Ma.
Stable.
Her Armour
Munition,
and Artilerie.
The
Towver.

And in the Citie of London it self, what this man at a pinche, could doe, by the help of some of the principal me, & chief leaders, & (as it were) commaunders of the commons ther, and by the bestirring of Fleetvvood his made Recorder, and other such his instrumentes: as also in al other Townes, Portes and Cities of importaunce, by such of his owne setting vp, as he hath placed ther to serue his designementes, and iustices of peace with other, that in most Shyres do were his liuery, and are at his appoyntement: the simplest man whithin the Realm doth consider.

London.
Sir Rowland
Heiward, &
Madd
Fleetvvood

Vvherunto yf you adde now his owne forces and furniture, vvhich he hath in Killingvvorth Castle and other places, as also the forces of Huntington in particular, vvhith their friendes, folovvers, allies, and Compartenours: you shal finde that they are not behind in their preparations.

For my Lord of Huntingtons forwardnes in the Schol. cause (said I) ther is no man, I think, vvhich maketh

My L. of
Hunting-
tons pre-
paration
at Alhby.

Killing-
worth
Castle.

Alphe
anc.

The offer
& accep-
tation of
Killing-
worth
Castle.

doubt:marie for his priuate forces,albeit they may be verie good, for anie thing I do knowve to the cōtrary,(especiallie at his house vvythin 25.miles of Killingworth, vwhere one tolde me some yeares paste,that he had furniture redie for fīue thovvland men:)yet do I not think, but that they are far inferior to my L.of Leycest.vvho is takē to haue excessiue store, & that in diuers places. And as for the Castle laste mentioned by you,ther are men of good intelligence,and of no smal iudgement,vvho report, that in the same, he hath vvell to furnish, ten thovvland good souldiars,of al thinges necessarie both for horse & man,besides al other munition,armour, & artillerie,(vvherof great store vvvas brought thither vnder pretence of tryumphe,vvhē her Ma.vvas ther,& neuer as yet carried back again) & besides the great abundāce of redie Coyne,ther laide vp(as is said)sufficient for anie great exploit to be done vvythin the Realme.

And I knowve that the estimation of this place vvvas such,amonge diuers,many years ago: as vvhe at a tyme her Ma.laye daungerouslie syck,and lyke to die,at Hampton Court,a certaine gentleman of the Court,came vnto my L.of Huntington,& told him,that for so much as he toke his L.to be next in succession after her Ma. he vvoulde offer hym a meane of great help, for cōpassing of his purpose, after the discease of her Ma.vvwhich vvvas,the possession of Killigworth Castle(for at that time thes two Earles vvvere not yet verie friendes,nor confederate together)& that being had,he shewed to the Earle the great furniture and vvealthe,vvwhich therby he should possesse for pursute of his purpose.

The proposition vvas vvel liked, & the mater esteemed of great importaunce, and consequentlie receyued vvyth manie thanks. But yet aftervvard her Ma. by the good prouidence of God, recouerig againe, letted the executiō of the bargaine: and my L. of Huntington hauing occasion to ioyne amitie vvyth Leycester, had more respect to his ovvn comoditie, thē to his friendes securitie, (as commonly in such persons & cases it falleth out) & so discovered the vvhole deuce vnto him, vvho forgat not after, from tyme to tyme, to plague the deuiser by secret meanes, vntil he hath brought him to that poore state, as al the vvorld seeth: though manie mē be not acquainted vvyth the true cause of this his disgrace and bare fortune.

To this answered the Lavvyer: In good faith L. A. V. V. (Gentlemen) you open great misteries vnto me, vvhich either I knevv not, or cōsidēred not so particularlie before, and no maruaile, for that my profession and exercise of lavve, restraineth me from much companie keeping: and vvhen I happen to be among some that could tel me much herein, I dare not either aske, or heare if anie of him self beginne to talke, least aftervvard the speech cōming to light, I be fetched ouer the coals (as the prouerbe is) for the same, vnder pretēce of an other thing. But you (vvho are not suspected for religiō) haue much greater priuiledge in such maters, both to heare & speak againe, vvhich mē of mine estate dare not do: Onelie this I knevv before, that throughout al England my L. of Leycester is taken for *Dominus sacrosanctus*: VVhose excellencie aboue others is infinite, vvwhose authority is absolute, vvwhos cōmaundemēt

The prerogative of my L. of Leycester.

is dreadful, vvhos dislike is daungerous, & vvwhose fauour is omnipotent.

And for his vvill, though it be seldome lawe, yet alvvayes is his povver aboue lawe: and therfor vve lavvyers in al cases brought vnto vs, haue as great regarde to his inclination, as Astronomers haue to the Planet dominaunte, or as sea men haue to the Northe Pole.

Leyc. the
Starre di-
rectorie
to Lavv-
yers in
theyr
Cliētes
affayres.

For as they that sayle, do direct their course, according to the situation & direction of that starre vvwhich guideth them at the Pole: and as astronomers vvho make prognosticatiōs, do fortel thinges to come, according to the aspect of the Planet dominaunte, or bearing rule for the tyme: so vve do guide our Cliēts barke, and do prognosticate vvhat is lyke to ensue of his cause, by the aspect & inclinatio of my L. of Ley. And for that reasō, as soone as euer vve heare a case proposed, our custome is to aske, vvhat part my L. of Ley. is like to fauour in the mater (for in al maters lightly of any importance, he hath a parte) or vvhat may be gathered of his inclination therin: and according to that vve giue a gesse, more or lesse, vvhat end vvil ensue.

But this (my masters) is from the purpose: and therefore returning to your former speach againe, I do saye, that albeit I vvvas not priuie before to the particular prouisions of my L. and his friendes, in such and such places: yet seing him accompred L. generall ouer al the vvhole Realm, and to haue at his commaundemēt, al these seuerall commodities and forces perreyning to her Ma. vvwhich you haue mentioned before, and so manie more as be in the Realm, and not mentioned by you (for in fine,

he hath al:) I could not but accompt him (as he is) a porent Prince of our state, for al furniture needful to defence or offence, or rather the only Monarche of our nobilitie, vvhō hath sufficient of him self to plunge his Prince, yf he should be discontented, especial for his abundance of money, (vvhich, by the vvyse, is tearmed the Sinours of Martial actions) vvherin by al mēs iudgemēts, he is better furnished at this daye, thā euer anie subiect of our land, either hath bene heretofore, or lightly maye be hereafter, both for bāks vvithout the realm & stuffed coffers vvithin. In so much that being my self in the Last Parliamēt, vvhē the mater vvas moued, for the graūt of a Subsidie, after that, one for her Ma. had giuē very good reasons, vvhyy her highnesse vvas in vvāt of money, and consequentlie needed the assistance of her faithfull subiects therin: an other that sat next me of good accōpt said in mine eare secretlie: these reasōs I do vvell allowve, & am cōtented to giue my part ī money: but yet, for her Ma. need, I could make ansvvere as one answered once the Emperour Tiberius in the like case & cause. *Abūdē ei pecuniā fore, si a liberto suo in societate reciperetur.*

Ley. furniture in money.

that her Ma. should haue money enough, yf one of her seruaūts vvould voutchsafe to make her highnesse partaker vvyth him: meaning therby my L. of Leycester, vvwhose treasure must needes in one respect, be greater, then that of her Ma. for that he layeth vp vvhat soeuer he getteth, & his expences he casteth vpon the purse of his Princesse.

The sayīg of a knight of the shyre touching Leycester money.

For that (said the Gētle mā) vvwhether he do or no, GENTL. it importeth litle to the mater: seing both that

The infinit
ways
of gay
ning that
Leycester
hath.

Sutes.

Landes.

Licenses.

Fallinge
out vwith
her Ma.

Offices.

Cleargie.

vvhich he spendeth, & that he hoordeth, is truelie
& properlie his Princeſſe treasure: and ſeing he hath
ſo manie & diuers vvaies of gaining, vvhath ſhould
he make accompt of his ovvn priuate expences? yf
he lay out one for a thouſand, vvhath can that make
him the poorer? he that hath ſo goodlie lādes, poſ-
ſeſſions, Seigniories and riche offices of his ovvn,
as he is knowven to haue: he that hath ſo ſpecial fa-
uour and authoritie vwith the Prince, as he can ob-
teine vvhath ſoeuer he liſteth to demaund: he that
hath his parte and portion in al ſutes beſides, that
paſſe by grace, or els (for the moſte parte) are ended
by lavve: he that may chop & chaunge, vvhath lādes
he liſteth vwith her Ma. diſpoile them of al their
vwooddes and other commodities, and rack them
aftervvard to the vttermoſte penny, and then re-
turne the ſame, ſo renter-ſtretched and bare ſhorne,
into her Ma. handes againe, by freſh exchange,
rent for rent, for other landes neuer enhaunſed be-
fore: he that poſſeſſeth ſo manie gainful licences to
hī ſelf alone of VVine, Oyles, Currātes, Cloth, vel-
uets, vwith his nevv office for Licēce of alienation,
moſte pernicious vnto the cōmon vvealth, as he
vſeth the ſame, vwith manie other the like, vvhich
vvere ſufficient to enriche vvhole tovvnnes, corpo-
rations, countries, and common vvealthes: he that
hath the arte, to make gainful to him ſelf euerie of-
fence, diſpleaſure, and ſaling out of her Ma. vwith
him, & euery angry coōtenaunce caſt vppō him: he
that hath his ſhare in al offices of great profit and
holdeth an absolute Monopole of the ſame: he that
diſpoſeth at his vvil the Eccleſiaſtical liuinges of
the Realm, maketh Biſshoppes, none, but ſuch as

vvil do reason, or of his Chaplaines vvhom he lif-
 teth, & reteineth to him self so much of the liuing
 as liketh hī best: he that svveepeth avvay the glebe
 frō so many benefices throughout the lād & cōpōū. **Benefices**
 deth vvith the persōne for the rest: he that so schou-
 reth the Vniuersitie & Colleges vvher he is Chaun- **Vniuer-**
 celor, & selleth both headships & Scholars places, **sitie.**
 & al other offices, rōumes & dignities, that by arte
 or violēce maye yeeld money: he that maketh title
 to vvhat land or other thing he please, and driueth
 the parties to compound for the same: he that ta- **Oppres-**
 keth in vvhole Forests, Cōmons, VVooddes & Pas- **sions.**
 tures to him self, compelling the tēnauntes to pay
 him nevv rent, and vvhat he cesseth: he that vexeth **Rapines.**
 and oppresseth vvhom so euer he list, taketh from
 anie vvhat he list, & maketh his ovvn clayme, sute,
 and end as he list: he that selleth his fauour vvith **Princes**
 the Prince, both abroad in forreine countries, and **faour.**
 at home, and setteth the price therof vvhat him self
 vvil demaund: he that hath & doth al this, & besids **Presen-**
 this, hath infinit presents dailie brought vnto him **tes.**
 of great valevv, both in Ievvels, Plate, al kinde of
 Furniture & redie Coyne: this man (I say) may ease-
 lie beare his ovvn expēces, & yet lay vp sufficientlie
 also to vverie his Prince vvhe needes shal require.

You haue said much Sir, (quoth the Lavvyer) and
 such mater, as toucheth neerlie both her Ma. & the **LAVV.**
 cōmon vvealth: and yet in my conscience if I vvere
 to plead at the barre for my Lord: I could not tel
 vvwhich of al these members to denie. But for that **Leycester**
 vvwhich you mētion in the last parte, of his gaining **home-**
 by her Ma. fauour, both at home & abroad: To vv- **gaine by**
 ching his home gaine it is euident, seing al that he **her Ma.**
 fauour.

hath is gotē onlie by the opiniō of her Ma. fauour tovvardes him: and many mē do repaire vnto him, vvith fatte presentes, rather for that they suppose, he may by his fauour do them hurt, if he feele not their revvarde, then for that they hope he vvil labour anie thing in their affaires.

A pretye
story.

You remēber (I doubt not) the storie of him, that offred his Prince a great yearelie rent, to haue but this fauour only, that he myght come euerie day in open audience, and say in his eare, God saue your Ma. assuring him self, that by the opinion of confidence and secret fauour, vvwhich hereby the people vvould cōceiue, to be in the Prince tovvardes him; he should easilie get vp his rent againe double told. VVherfore, my L. of Leycester receiuing dai-
lie from her Ma. greater tokens of grace and fauour then this, and him self being no euil marchant, to make his ovvn bargain for the best of his commodities: cannot but gaine exceedinglie at home by his fauour.

Leycester
forraine
gayne by
her Ma.
fauour.

And for his Lucre abroode vpon the same cause, I leaue to other men to conceiue, vvhat it may be, sithence the beginning of her Ma. raigne: the times vvherof and condition of al Christendom hath bene such, as al the Princes and Potentates round about vs, haue bene constreyned at one tyme or other, to sue to her highnesse for ayde, grace, or fauour: in al vvwhich sutes, men vse not to forget (as yovv knowe) the parties moſte able by their credit, to further or let the same.

In particular onlie this I cā say, that I haue heard of sundrie frenche men, that at such tyme, as the treatie vvvas betvvene Fraunce and England, for

the redeliuerie of Callis vnto vs againe, in the first yeare of her Ma. raigne that now is, vvhē the frēch mē vvere in great distresse & misery, & K. Philippe refused absolutelie to make peace vvith them, except Callis vvere restored to England (vvwhether for that purpose he had nowv deliuered the french hostages:) the french men do reporte (I say) that my L. of Leycester stode them in great steade at that necessitie, for his revvard, (vvwhich you may vvell imagine vvas not smal, for a thing of such importāce,) & becā a suter, that peace might be cōcluded, vvith the release of Callis to the frēche: vvwhich vvas one of the most impious factes (to saye the trueth,) that euer could be deuised against his cōmon vvealth.

Leycester
bribe for
betraying
of Callis.

A smal mater in him (said the Gentleman) for in this he did no more, but as Christ said of the Ievves: that they filled vp the measure of their fathers sinnes. And so if you reade the storie of K. Edvvardes tyme, you shal finde it moſte euident, that this mā's father before him, solde Bullogne to the french by like trecherie. For it vvas deliuered vp vpon cōposition, vvithout necessity or reason, the. 25. of April, in the fourth yeare of K. Edvvard the sixt, vvhe he (I mean duke Dudley) had nowv put in the Towver the L. Protector, & thrust out of the Councel vvhe he listed: as namly the Erles of Arundel & Southampton, & so inuaded the vvhole gouernmēt him self, to sel, spoile & dispose at his pleasur. VVherfore this is but natural to my L. of Leycester by discent, to make marchandize of the state, for his Grādfather Edmund also, vvas such a kinde of Copesman.

Leycester
father sol
de Bullo-
gne.

Erles of
Arundel
and Sou-
champton
put out of
the Coun-
cell by D.
Dudley.

An euil rase of marchauntes for the common vvealth (quoth the Lavvyer) but yet, Sir, I pray you

L A V V.

(said he) expound vnto me somewhat more at large, the nature of these licences vvhiche you named, as also the chaunging of landes vvyth her Ma. yf you can set it downe anie playner: for they seeme, to be thinges of excessiue gaine: especialie his vway of gayning by offending her Ma. or by her hyghenes offence towarde him, for it seemeth to be a deuice aboue all skill or reason.

Leycester
gayne by
fallinge
out vvith
her Ma.

Not so (quoth the Gentleman for you know that euery falling out must haue an attonement againe, vvherof he being sure by the many & puissant meanes of his fryendes in Court, as I haue shewed before, vvho shall not gyue her Ma. rest vntil it be donne: then for this attonement, and in perfect reconciliation on her Ma. parte, she must graunte my Lorde some sute or other, vvwhich he vvill haue alvvayes redie prouided for that purpose, and this sute shall be vvell able to rewarde his fryendes, that laboured for his recōcilement, and leaue also a good remaynder for him selfe. And this is now so ordinarie a practize vvith him, as all the Realm obserueth the same, and disdaigneth that her Ma. should be so vnvvorthelie abused: For yf her hyghnesse fall not out vvith him as often as he desireth to gayne this vwaye, then he picketh some quarrell or other, to shew him selfe discontented vvith her, so that one vwaye or other, this gaynful reconciliation must be made, and that often for his commoditie. The like arte he excerciseth in inuiting her Ma. to his bāquettes and to his houses, vvher if she come, she must graunt him in sutes, ten tymes so much as the charges of al amount vnto: so that Robin plaicth the broker ī al his affaires, &

maketh the vttermost pēny of her Ma. euery vway.

Novv for his chaunge of landes, I think I haue GENTL.
bene reasonable plaine before: yet for your fuller
satisfactiō, you shal vnderstand his further dealing
therin, to be in this sorte. Besides the good landes
& of auncient possession to the Crovvn, procured
at her Ma. hand, and vsed as before vvas declared:
he vseth the same trick for his vvurst landes, that he
possesseth any vvaie, vvwhether they come to him, by
extort meanes & plaine oppressiō, or through mai-
tenaunce & broken tiltes, or by cosinage of simple
Gentlemen, to make him their heire, or by vvhat
hard title or vn honest meanes so euer, (for he prac-
tizeth store of such and thinketh litle of the rec-
kening:) after he hath tried them likevvise, to the
vttermost touche, & letten thē out to such, as shal
gaine but litle by the bargaine: then goeth he and
chaūgerth the same vvith her Ma. for the best lādes
he cā pick out of the Crovvn, to the end that herby
hemay both enforce her Ma. to the defence of his
bad titles, and him self fil his coffers, vvith the fines
and vttermoste commoditie of both the landes.

Leycester
fraudulēt
chaunge
of landes
vvith her
Maestye
vvherby
he hath
notablye
endāma-
ged the
Croune.

His licences do stand thus: first he got Lyncence
for certaine great numbers of Clothes, to be trans-
ported out of this land, vvwhich might haue bene an
vndoing to the marchant subiect, if they had not
redemed the same vvith great summes of money:
so that it redounded to great damage of all occu-
pied about that kinde of commodity. After that he
had the graunt for carrying ouer of barrell staues &
of some other such like vvares. Then procured he a
Monopole, for bringing in of svweet vvines, oyles,
currātes & the lik: the gaine vvherof is inestimable.

Leycester
Licences.

He had also the forfeit of al vvyne that vvas to be dravven aboue the olde ordinarye price, vvith licence to giue authoritie to sell aboue that price: vvherin Captaine Horsey vvas his instrument, by vvwhich means it is incredible vvhat treasure & yearlie rent vvas gathered of the Vinteners throughout the Land.

Sylkes &
Veluetes.

To this adde novv his licence of Silkes & Veluettes, vvwhich onelie vv ere enough to enrich the Maior and Adermen of Lōdon, if they vv ere al decayed (as often I haue heard diuers Marchauntes affirme). And his licēce of alienatiō of lādes, vv which (as in parte I haue opened before) serueth him not onelie to excessiue gaine, but also for an extreme scourge, vvhervvith to plague vv hom he please in the Realm. For seing that vv ythout this licence,

The Tirā
nical Ly-
cence of
alienatiō.

no man can buy, sell, passe, or alienate, anie land that anie vvayes may be dravven to that tennure, as holden in chiefe of the Prince: as commonlie novv moſte lād maie) he calleth into questiō vv hat fouer liketh him best, be it neuer so cleare: and vv der this colour, not onelie enricheth him selfe vv ythout al measure, but reuengeth him selfe also, vvher he vv il, vv ythout al order.

L A V V.

Heare the lavvyer stood stil a pretie vv hile, byting his lippe, as he vv ere astonished, and then said. Verilie I haue not hearde so manie and so apparaunt thinges or so odious, of any man that euer liued in our cōmon vvealrh. And I maruaile much of my L. of Leycester, that his graundfathers fortune doth not moue him much, vv who lost his head in the begnining of K. Henrie the eightes dayes, for much lesse and fevver offences, in the same

Edmond
Dudley.

kinde, committed in the tyme of K. Henrie the
seuenth: for he vvas thought to be the inuentor
of these poolinges and molestations, vvhervvith
the people vvere burdened, in the later dayes of
the said king. And yet had he great pretence of
reason to alceage for him self: in that these exactiōs
vvere made to the kings vse, and not to his, (albeit
no doubt but his ovvn gaine vvas also there. M.
Stovve vvriteth ī his Chronicle, that in the tyme of
his imprisōment in the Towver, he vvrot a notable
boke, intituled *The tree of common vvealth*,
vvhich booke, the sayd Stovve sayth, that he hath
delyuered to my Lord of Leycester manye yeares
gone. And yf the said boke be so notable as M.
Stovve affirmeth: I maruaile, that his L. in so ma-
nie yeares, doth not publishe the same, for the
glorie of his auncestors?

Edmund
Dudleys
boke vvrit-
ten in the
Towver.

It may be (said the Gentleman) that the secretes
therin conteyned, be such, as it seemeth good to
my Lord, to vse them onelic him self, and to gather
the fruit of that tree into his ovvn house alone. For
if the tree of the commō vvealth in Edmūd Dud-
leys booke, bee the Prince and his race: and the
fruites to be gathered from that tree, bee riches,
honours, dignities, & preferments: then no doubt,
but as the vvriter Edmund vvas cunning therin;
so haue his tyyo folovvers, Iohn and Robert, vvell
studied and practized the same, or rather haue ex-
ceded and far passed the author him self. The one
of the gathering so egarly, & vvith such vehemēcy,
as he vvas like to haue broken downn the mayne
boughes for greedines: the other yet plucking and

GENTL.

The sup-
planting
of the
race of
Henric
the 7.
The inser-
ting of
Huntingtō

Edmund
Dudleys
broode
more cū-
ning then
hym self.

Northū.
& Leices.
vwill rule
theyre
Prince &
not be
ruled.

heaping so fast to him self and his freindes, as it is and maye be, moſte iuſtlye doubted, that vvhē they haue cropped al they, can, from the tree leſte them by their father Edmund (I meane the race of K. Henric the ſeuēth:) then vvil they pluck vp the Steimme it ſelf by the rootes, as vnprofitable: and pitch in his place another Trunk, (that is the line of Huntington) that may begin to feed a new, vvith, freſh fruites againe, and ſo for a tyme con- tēt their appetites, vntill of gatherers, they may be- come trees, (vvhich is their finall purpoſe) to feed them ſelues at their ovvn diſcretion.

And hovv ſo euer this be, it cannot be denyed, but that Edmund Dudleys brood, haue learned by this boke, and by other meanes, to be more cū- ning gatherers, thē euer their firſt progenitor vvas, that made the boke. Firſt for that he made profeſſiō to gather to his Prince (though vvickedly) & theſe men make demonſtration, that they haue gathered for them ſelues: & that vvith much mote iniquity. Secondlie for that Edmund Dudley though he got him ſelf neare about the tree, yet vvas he content to ſtand on the ground, and to ſerue him ſelfe from the tree, as commoditie vvas offred: but his childrē not eſteeming that, ſafe gathering, vvill needes mount aloſte vpon the tree, to pul, croppe, and riſſe at their pleaſure. And as in this ſecond point the ſonne Iohn Dudley vvas more ſubtile, then Ed- mund the father: ſo in a third point, the Nephew Robert Dudley is more craftie, then they both. For that, he ſeeing the euil ſucceſſe of thoſe two that vvvent before him, he hath prouyded to gather ſo much in conuenient tyme, and to make hym

selfthervvyth so far and strong, (vvherin the other,
 rvyo fayled : as he vvil neuer be in daunger more,
 to be called to anie accompt for the same.

In good faith Sir (quoth the Lavvyer) I thank LAVV.
 you hartelie, for this pleasaunt discourse vpon
 Edmond Dudleys tree of common vvcalth. And
 by your opiniō, my L. of Leicester is the most lear-
 ned of al his kinred, and a verie cunning Logi-
 tioner indeed, that can dravv for him self so com-
 modious conclusiōs, out of the perilous premisses
 of his progenitors.

No maruaile (quoth the Gentleman) for that GENTL.
 his L. is Master of Arte in Oxeforde, and Chaunce-
 lor besides of the same Vniuersitie, vvher he hath
 store (as you knowve) of manie fine vvittes & good Leyccster
 Logitioners at his cōmandmēt: and vvher he lear- master of
 neth not onelie the rules and arte of cunning ga- arte and a
 thering: but also the verie practize (as I haue tou- cunning
 ched before: scyng there is no one College, or Logitio-
 other thing of commoditie vvvythin that place, ner.
 vvherhence he hath not pulled, vvhat so euer
 vvas possiblye to be gathered, cyther by arte or
 violence.

Touching Oxeford (said I) for that I am an Vni- SCHOL.
 uersitie man my self, and haue both experience of
 Cambrige, and good acquaintance vvith diuers
 studentes of the other Vniuersitie: I can tel you Ley. abu-
 enough, but in fyne al tendeth to this conclusion, sing and
 that by his Chauncelors hip, is cancelled almost al spoyling
 hope of good in that Vniuersitie: and by his pro- of Oxford
 tection, it is like soone to come to destruction.
 And surelie if ther vv ere no other thing, to declare
 the oddes and difference betvvixt him, and our

The L.
treasurer

Chauncelor, (vvhom he cānot beare, for that euery vvay he seeth him, to passe him in al honour and vertue) it vv ere sufficient to behold the present state of the tvvo Vniuersities, vvherof they are heades and gouernours.

Cābrige.

For our ovvn, I vv il not say much, lest I might perhaps seme partial: but let the thing speak for it self. Cōsider the fruit of the garden, & therby you may iudge of the gardiners diligence. Looke vpon the Biss hoprickes, pastorshippes, and pulpits of England, and see vv henc principalie they haue receiued their furniture for aduauncemēt of the Gospel. And on the contrarie side, looke vpon the Seminaries of Papistrie at Rome and Rhems, vpon the Colleges of Iesuits, and other compagnies of Papystes Beyond the seas, and see vv her-hence they are, especiallie, fraught.

The Priestes and Iesuits here executed vv ythin the land, and other that remaine either in prison, or abroad in corners: are they not al (in a maner) of that Vniuersitie? I speake not to the disgrace of anie good that remaine ther, or that haue issued out thence into the Lords vyneyard: but for the moſte parte ther, of this our tyme, haue they not either gone beyond the seas, or leſte their places for discontentment in Religion, or ells become ſeruing mē, or folloved the bare name of lawe or Phiſick, vv ythout profiting greatlie therein, or furthering the ſervice of Gods Church or their common vv ealth?

And vv herhence (I pray you) enſueth al this, but by reason that the chiefe Gouernour therof is an Atheiſt him ſelf, and vv ſeth the place onlie for
gaine

gayne and spoile? for herehence it commeth, that al good order and discipline is dissolued in that place: the seruour of studie extinguished: the publique lectures abandoned (I meane of the more parte:) the Tauernes and ordinarie tables frequented: the apparel of studentes grovven monstrous: and the statutes and good ordinaunce, both of the Vniuersity & of euerie College and hall in priuate, broken and infringed at my Lordes good pleasure, vvythout respect either of othe, custome, or reason to the contrarie. The heades and officers are put in & out at his onlie discretion: & the scholars places either solde, or disposed by his letters, or by these of his seruauntes and folowers: nothing can be had there, novv, vvythout present money: it is as common buying and selling of places in that Vniuersitie, as of horses in Smithfeild: vverby the good & vertuous are kept out, and companions thrust in, fit to serue his L. aftervvard, in al affaires that shal occure.

The disorders of Oreforde by the vickednes of their Chancellour.

And as for Leases of farmes, VVoodes, Pastures, Leases. Personages, Benefices or the like, vvhich belong anie vway to anie parte of the Vniuersitie, to let or bestovv, these, his L. and his seruauntes haue so fleeced, shorne, and scraped alredie, that there remaineth, litle to feed vpon hereafter: albeit he vvant not stil his spies and intelligencers in the place, to aduertise him from tyme to tyme, vwhen anie litle nev्व morsel is offred. And the Principal instrumentes, vvhich for this purpose, he hath had there before this, haue bene tvvo Phisicians Baylye and Culpeper, both knowvé Papistes a litle vvhile ago, but novv iuste of Galens religion,

Leycester instruments.

and so much the fitter for my Lords humour: for his Lordship doth alwayes couet, to be furnished vvyth certaine chosen men about him, for diuers affaires: as these two Galenistes for agentes in the Vniuersitie: Dee & Allen (two Atheistes) for Figuring and Coniuring: Iulio the Italian & Lopas the Ievve, for Poysoning, & for the arte of destroying children in vvomens bellies: Verneys for Murderynge: Digbyes for * Bavvdes: and the like in other occupations vvwhich his Lordship exercyseth.

* At Digbys house in vvarvvickshire Dame Lettice laye, and some other such peeces, of pleasure.

VVherfore to returne to the speech vvhere vve began: moſte cleare it is, that my Lord of Leyceſter hath meanes to gaine and gather alſo by the Vniuerſitie, as vvell as by the coutrie abroad. VVherin (as I am tolde) he beareth him ſelf ſo absolute a Lord, as yf he vv ere their king, and not their Chauncelor: Nay far more then, yf he vv ere the general and particular founder of al the Colledges and other houſes of the Vniuerſitie: no man daring to contrarie or interrupt the leaſt vvorde or ſignification of his vv il, but vv yth his extreame daunger: vv which is a proceeding more fit for Phalaris the Tyraunt, or ſome Gouvernour in Tartarie, then for a Chauncelor of a learned Vniuerſitie.

LAVV. To this answered the Lavvyer, for my Lords vv rath, to vv ardes ſuch as vv il not ſtande to his iudgement and opinion, I can my ſelf be a ſufficient vv itnes: vv ho hauing had often occaſion to deale for cōpoſition of matters, betvvixt his Lordſhip and others, haue ſcene by experience, that alvv aies they haue ſped beſt, vv ho ſtood leſt in cōtention vv yth him, vv hat ſoeuer their cauſe vv ere. For as a great & vv iolēt riuer, the more it is ſtopped

or cōtrariēd, the more it riseth and swelleth bigge, and in the end, delecteth vvith more force the thing that made resistaunce: so his Lordship being the great and mightie Potentate of this Realm, and accustomed novv to haue his vvyl in all thinges, can not beare to be crossed or resisted by anie man, though it vv ere in his ovvn necessarie defence.

The perill
of stāding
vvith Lei-
cester in
anything.

Hereof I haue seene examples, in the causes of Snovvden forest, in VVales, of Denbighe, of Killingvvorth, of Drayton and others: vvhere the parties that had interest, or thought them selues vvrounged, had bene happie, yf they had yeelded at the first to his Lordships pleasure, vvithout further question: for then had they escaped much trouble, charges, displeasure and vexation, vv which by resistaūce they incurred, to ther great ruine.) and * losse of lyfe to some) and in the end vv ere faine also to submit them selues vnto his vv il, vvith far vvorse conditions, then in the beginning vv ere offered vnto them: vv which thing vv as pitiful indeed to behold, but yet such is my Lords disposition.

* Poore
men resis-
ting VVar-
vikes in-
closure at
North hal
vv ere han-
ged for his
pleasure
by Leices-
ters au-
thoritie.

A noble disposition (quoth the Gentleman, that I must giue him my Coat yf he demand the same, and that quicklie also, for feare least yf I stagger or make doubt therof, he compel me to yeeld both Coat and Doublet, in penaunce of my staye. I haue red of some such Tyrauntes abroad in the vvorld: Marie their end vv as alvvayes according to their lyfe, as it is verie like that it vv il be also in this man, for that ther is smal hope of his amendment, and God passeth not ouer commonlie such matters unpunished in this life, as vv el as in the lyfe to come.

GENTL.
Great Ty-
rannie.

But I pray you Sir, seing mention is novv made of the former oppressions, so much talked of throughout the Realm, that you vvill take the paines, to explaine the substaunce therof vnto me: for albeit in general, euerie man doth knowv the same, and in hart do detest the Tyrannie therof: yet vve abrode in the countrie, do not vnderstand it so vvell and distinctlie as you that be Lavvyers, vvho haue seene and vnderstood the vvhole processe of the same.

LAVV. The case of Killingvvorth and Denbighe, (said the Lavvyer) are much alike in mater and maner of proceeding, though different in tyme^e place and importance. For that the Lordship of Denbighe in Northvvailes, being giuen vnto him by her Ma.^a a great vvhile agoe at the beginning of his ryling, (vvhich is a Lordship of singular great importaunce, in that countrie, hauing (as I haue heard) vvell nere tvvo hundreth vvorshipful Gentlemen free-holders to the same:) the tennautes of the place considering the present state of thinges, & hauing learned, the hungrie disposition of their nev्व Lord: made a common purse of a thovvsand poundes, to present him vvvythal, at his first entraunce. VVhich though he receyued (as he refuseth nothing,) yet accõpted he the summe of smal effect for satisfaction of his appetit: and therefore applied him self, not onelie to make the vtermoste that he could by leases, & such like vvayes of commoditie; but also vvould needs enforce the Freeholders, to raise their olde rent of the Lordship, from tvvo hundreth and fiftie poundes a yeare or there aboutes (at vvhich rate he had receiued the same in guift from her Ma.)

The Lord
shippe of
Dēbighe
& Leyces.
oppressiō
vied therē

vnto eight or nine hundreth poundes by the yeare. For that he had found out (forsooth) an olde recorde, (as he said) vvhetherby he could proue, that in aunciēt tyme long past, that Lordship had yelded so much olde rent: & therefore he vvould novv enforce the present tennautes, to make vp so much againe vpon their landes, vvwhich they thought vvvas against al reason for them to do: but my L. perforce, vvould haue it so, and in the end compelled thē to yeld to his vvil, to the impouerishing of al the vvhole countrie about,

The like proceeding he vsed vvith the tennautes about Killingvvorth, vvher he receyuing the said Lordship & Castle frō the Prince, in guifte of tēty fover poundes yearlie rent or ther about, hath made it novv better then fīue hundreth by yeare: by an olde recorde also, found by great fortune in the hole of a vvial as is giuen out (for he hath, singular good luck alvvayes in finding out recordes for his purpose) by vertue vvherof, he hath taken from the tennautes, rovvnde aboute, their landes, VVooddes, Pastures, and Commous, to make him self Parkes, Chaces, and other commodities thervvith, to the subuersion of manie a good familie, vvwhich vvvas mainteyned ther, before this devourer set foote in that countrie.

The Manor of Killingvvorth and Ley. oppressiō ther.

But the matter of Snowvden Forest, doth passe al the rest, both for cunning and crueltie: the tragedie vvherof vvvas this. He had learned by his intelligencers abroad, (vvherof he hath great store in euerie parte of the Realm): that ther vvvas a goodly aunciēt Forest in Northvvalles, vvwhich hath almost infinit borderers about the same: for it lieth in the midst

The case of Snowvden forest most pitiful.

of the country, beginning at the hills of Snovvden (vvherof it hath his name) in Carnarvan shire, and reacheth euery vvay to vvards diuers other shires. VVhen my Lord heard of this, he entered presentlie into the conceit of a singular great pray: and going to her Maiestie, signified that her highnesse vvvas often tymes abused, by the incroching of such as dvvelt vpon her Forrestes, vvwhich vvvas necessarie to be restrained: and therefore beseeched her Maiestie, to bestowve vpon him the incrochementes onelie, vvwhich he should be able to finde out, vpon the forest of Snovvden, vvhych vvvas graunted:

An olde
Tyranni-
cal Com-
mission.

And ther vpon he chose out commissioners fit for the purpose, and sent them into VVales, vvith the like commission, as a certaine Emperour vvvas vvount to giue his Magistrates, vvhen they departed from him to gouerne, as Suetonius vvriteth: *Scitis quid velim, & quibus opus habeo.* You know vvhat I vvould haue, and vvhat I haue neede of. VVhich recommendation, these commissioners taking to hart, omitted no diligence in execution of the same: And so going into VVales, by such meanes as they vsed, of setting one man to accuse an other: brought quicklie al the countrie round about in three or fowver shires, vvithin the compasse of forest ground: and so entred vpon the same, for my L. of Leycester. VVher vpon, vvhen the people vvvere amazed, and expected vvhat order my Lord him self vvould take therein: his L. vvvas so far of from refusing anie parte of that, vvwhich his cōmissioners had presen-

red & offered him as he vvould yet furdher stretch the Forest beyond the sea, into the Ile of Anglesey, & make that also vvithin his compas & boúder.

A ridicu-
lous de-
monstra-
tiō of ex-
cessiue
auarice.

VVhich vvhen the commonaltie sawe, and that they profited nothing, by their complaining and crying out of this Tyrannie: they appointed to send some certaine number of them selues, to London, to make supplication to the Prince: and so they did: Choising out for that purpose a dozen Gentlemen, and manie more of the commons of the countrie of LLyn, to deale for the vvhole. VVho comming to London and exhibiting a most humble supplication to her Ma. for redresse of their oppression: receiued an ansvvere, by the procuremēt of my Lord of Leycester, that they should haue iustice, if the commonaltie vvould returne home to their houses, and the Gentlemen remaine ther, to sollicite the cause. VVhich as soone as they had yeelded vnto, the Gentlemen vv ere al taken and cast into prison, & there kept for a great space, and aftervvard vv ere sent down to Ludlovve, (as the place most eminent of al these countries) ther to vv eare papires of periurie, and receiue other punishmētes of infamie, for their cōplaining: vv hich punishmētes notwithstanding, aftervv arde vpon great sure of the parties and their friendes, vv ere turned into great fynes of moneý, vv hich they vv ere constreined to pay, and yet besides to agree also vv ith my L. of Leycester for their ovvn landes, acknowv ledging the same to be his, and so to buy it of him againe.

A singu-
lar op-
pression.

VVherby not onelie thes priuate Gētlemen, but al the vv hole countrie ther about, vv as and is (in a

maner) vtterlie vndonne. And the participation of this iniury, reacheth so far and vvide, and is so general in these partes : as you shal skarce finde a man that commeth from that coast, vvhich feeleth not the smart therof: being either impouerished, beggered, or ruinated therby.

Leycester
extremly
hated in
VVales.

VVherby I assure you that the hatred of al that countrie, is so vniuersal and vehement against my Lord: as I think neuer thing Created by God, vvas so odious to that Nation, as the verie name of my Lord of Leycester is. VVhich his Lordship vvel knowving, I doubt not, but that he vvil take heed, hovv he go thither to dvvell, or send thither his posteritie.

GENTL.

For his posteritie (quoth the Gentleman) I suppose he hath litle cause to be solicitous: for that God him self taketh care commonlie, that goodes and honours so gotten and mainteined, as his be, shal neuer trouble the third heire. Marie for him self, I confesse (the matter standing as you saye) that he hath reason to forbear that countrie, and to leaue of his building begonne at Denhighe, as I heare saye he hath done. For that the vniuersal hatred of a people, is a perilous matter. And if I vv ere in his Lordships case, I should often thinke of the ende of Nero: vvho after al hys glorye, vpon furie of the people vvas adiudged to haue his head thrust into a Pillorie, and so to be beaten to death, vvith rodde and thvonges.

The ende
of Tyrants

Nero.

Vitellius.

Or rather I should feare the successe of Vitellius, the third Emperour after Nero, vvho for his vvickednes and oppression of the people,

vvas taken by them at length, vwhen fortune began to fayle him, and led out of his Palace naked, vvith hookes of Iron fastened in his fleshe, and so drawen through the Citie vvith infamie, vvhere, loden in the streets vvith filth and ordure cast vpon him, and a prick put vnder his Chinne, to the end he should not looke down or hide his face, vvas brought to the banke of Tyber, and ther after manie hundreth vvoundes receiued, vvas cast into the riuer. So implacable a thing is the furor of a multitude, vvhen it is once stirred, and hath place of reuenge. And so heauie is the hand of God vpon Tyrantes in this vvorld, vvhen it pleaseth his diuine Maies- tie to take reuenge of the same.

I haue red in Leander, in his description of Italie, hovv that in Spoleto (if I be not decei- ued) the chiefe Citie of the countrie of Vmbria, ther vvas a straunge Tyraunt: vvho in the tyme of his prosperitie, contemned al men, and forbare to iniurie no man, that came vvithin his clauues: esteeming him self sure enough, for euer being called to render accompt in this lyfe, and for the next he cared litle. But God vpon the sudden turned vpsidedown the vvhele of his felicitie, and cast him into the peoples handes: vvho tooke him, and bound his naked bodie vpon a planke, in the marcket place, vvith a fyar and iron tonges by him: and then made proclamation, that seeing this man vvas not othervvise able to make satisfaction, for the publique iniuries that he had done: euerie priuate person annoied by him, should come in order, and vvith the hoar

A most
terrible
reuenge
take vpo
a Tyrant.

burning tongues there redie, shoulde take of his flesh so much, as vvas correspondent to the iniury receyued, as indeed they did vntil the miserable man gaue vp the ghoste, & after to: as this authour vwriteth.

Leye. oppression
of particular mē.

But to the purpose: seing my Lorde careth litle for suche examples, and is become so hardie novv, as he maketh no accompte to iniurie and oppresse vvhole countries and commonalties together: it shalbe bootles to speake of his proceedings tovvardes particular men, vvho haue not so great strength to resist, as a multitude hath. And yet I can assure you, that there are so manie and so pytyful thinges published daylie of his Tyrannie in this kinde: as do moue great compassion tovvardes the partie that do suffer, and horrou against him, vvho shameth not dayly to offer such iniurye.

M. Robinson.

As for example: vvwhose harte vvoulde not bleed to heare the case before mentioned, of M. Robinsō of Staffordshire: a proper yong gentlemā. and vvell giuen both in religion ond other vertues. VVwhose father died at Nevvhauē in her Ma. seruice, vnder this mans brother the Earle of VVarvvik: & recōmended at his death, this his eldest sōne, to the special protectiō of Leyecest. & his brother, vvwhose seruaunt also this Robinson hath bene, from his youth vpvvard, and spent the most of his liuing in his seruice. Yet not vvithstanding al this, vvhen Robinsons landes vvere intangled vvith a certaine Londoner, vpon interest for his former mai-tenaunce in their seruice, vvwhose title my L. of Leyecester (though craftilie, yet not couertlie) vnder

Ferris his cloke, had gotten to him self: he ceased not to pursue the poore Gentleman euen to imprisonment, arraignment, and sentence of death, for greedines of the said liuing: together vvith the vexation of his brother in layve M. Harcourt and al other his friendes, vpon pretence, for sooth, that ther vvas a man slayne by Robinsons partie, in defence of his ovvn possession against Leycesters intruders, that vvould by violence breake into the same.

M. Harcourt.

VVhat shal I speake of others, vvherof ther vvould be no ende? as of his dealing vvith M. Richard Lee, for his Manor of Hooknorton (if I faile not in the name:) vvith M. Lodouike Griuell, by seeking to bereaue him of al his liuing at once, if the drifte had taken place? vvith George VVitney, in the behalf of Sir Henrie Leigh, for inforcing him to for-go the Coñtrollership of VVoodstock, vvwhich he holdeth by patent from K. Henrie the seuenth? VVith my L. Barkley, vvhom he enforced to yeeld vp his landes to his brother VVarvvike, vvwhich his auncestors had held quietlie for almost two hundreth yeares to gether?

Ric. Lee.

Lodouik Griuell.

George VVitney.

L. Barkley

VVhat shal I say of his intollerable Tyrānie vpon the last Archbiss hop of Canturburie, for doctor Iulio his sake, and that in so fovvle a matter? Vpon Sir Iohn Throgmarton, vvhom he brought pitifullie to his graue before his tyme, by cōtinual vexations, for a peece of faithful seruice done by him to his countrie, and to al the line of K. Henrie, against this mās father, in K. Edvvard & Q. Maries dayes? Vpon diuers of the Lanes for one mans sake Lane.

Archbis. of Cātur.

Sir Iohn Throgmarton.

Lane.

Gifforde. Killinvvorth Castle? vpon some of the Giffordes, and other for Throgmartons sake? (for that is also his L. disposition, for one mans cause vvhom he brooketh not, to plague a vvhole generation, that anie vvaye perteyneth, or is allied to the same:) his endlesse persecuting of Sir Drevve Drevvrie, and manie other Courtyers both men and vvomen? Althes(I say) and manie others, vvho daylie suffer iniuries, rapines & oppressions at his hādes, throughout the Realm, vvhat shoud it auaille to name the in this place: seing neither his L. careth anie thing for the same, neither the parties agrieued are like to attaine anie least release of affliction therby, but rather double oppressyon for theyr complaininge.

The pre-
sent state
of my L.
of Leicel.
VVherfore, to returne againe vvheras vve began, you see by this litle, vvho, and howv great, & vvhat maner of man, my L. of Leycester is this day, in the state of England. You see and may gather, in some parte, by that vvwhich hath bene spokē, his vvealth, his strength, his cūning, his dispositiō. His VVealth is excesssiue in all kinde of riches for a priuate mān, and must needes be much more, then anie bodie lightlie can imagine, for the infinit vvayes he hath had of gaine, so many years to gether. His Strēgth and povver is absolute and irresistible, as hath bene shevved, both in Chamber, Court, Councell, and Countrie. His Cunning in plotting and fortyfying the same, both by Force and Fraud, by Mines and Contermynes, by Trenches, Bulvvarkes, Flankers, and Rampiers: by Friēdes, Enimies, Allies, Seruātes, Creatures, and Dependētes, or anie other that may

Leycester
VVealth.

Leycester
Strength.

Leycester
Cūning.

serue his turne : is verie rare and singular. His Dis-
 position to Cruelty, Murder, Treason, and Tyranny: Leycester
disposi-
tion.
 and by all these to Supream Soueraignetic ouer
 other: is moſte euydent and cleare. And then iudge
 you vvwhether her Ma. that novv raigneth (vvhole
 lyfe and prosperitie, the Lord in mercie long pre-
 ſerue,) haue not iuſte cauſe to feare, in reſpect of
 theſe thinges onlie: yf ther vvwere no other particu-
 lars to proue his aspiring intent beſides?

No doubt (quoth the lawvver) but theſe are great L A V V.
 maters, in the queſtiō of ſuch a cauſe as is a Crovv.

And vve haue ſcene by example, that the leaſt of
 theſe, fovver, vvwhich you haue here named, or ra-
 ther ſome litle braunſ he conteyned in anie of the. Causes of
juſt feare
for her
Maieſty.
 hath bene ſufficient to found juſt ſuſpition, diſtruſt
 or iealouſie, in the heades of moſt vvwiſe Princes,
 tovvardes the proceedings of more aſſured ſub-
 iectes, the my L. of Leyceſter, in reaſon may be pre-
 ſumed to be. For that the ſafitie of a ſtate & Prince,
 ſtandeth not onelie in the redines and habilitie of
 reſiſting open attemptes, vvhen they ſhal fal out:
 but alſo (& that much more as Statiſtes vvrite) in
 a certaine prouident vvatchfulnes, of preuenting al
 poſſibilities and likelihoodes of daunger or ſur-
 preſſion: for that no Prince commonlie, vvil put
 him ſelf to the courteſie of an other man) be he
 neuer ſo obliged) vvwhether he ſhal retayne his
 Crovv or no: ſeing the cauſe of a Kingdom, ac-
 knowledgeth neither kinred, duety, fairh friend-
 ſhip, nor ſocietie.

I knowv not vvwhether I do expound and declare
 my ſelf vvvel or no, but my meaning is, that vvheras,
 euerie Prince hath tvvo pointes of aſſurance from

A point
of neces-
sarie po-
licie for a
Prince.

his subiect, the one, in that he is faithful & lacketh
vill, to annoie his soueraigne: the other, for that
he is vveake and vvanteth habyltye, to do the
same: the fyrst is alwayes of more importance
then the second, and consequentlie more to be
eyed and obserued in policie: for that oure vill
may be chaunged at oure pleasure, but not oure
habilitie.

Considering then, vpon that vvhich hath bene
said and specified before, how that my Lorde of
Leycester, hath possessed him self of al the strength,
pouvers and sinovves of the Realm, hath dravven
al to his ovvn directiō, and hath made his patty so
strong as it seemeth not resistable: you haue great
reason to say, that her Ma. maye iustlie conceyue
some doubt, for that yf his vvil vvere according to
his povver, most assured it is, that her Ma. vvere not
in safitie.

SCHOL.

Say not so, good Sir, (quoth I) for in such a case
truelie, I vvould repose litle vpon his vvil, vvhich is
so manye vvayes apparant, to be mooste insatiable
of ambition. Rather vvoulde I thinke that as yet
his habilitie serueth not, either for Tyme, Place,
Force, or some other circumstaunce: then that a-
nie parte of good vvil should vvante in him:
seing that not onelie his desire of soueraigntie,
but also his intent and attempt to aspire to the
same, is sufficientlie declared (in my conceit) by the
verye particulars of his povver and plottes alredy
set down. VVhich, yf you please to haue the pa-
tience, to heare a Scholars argument, I vvil proue
by a Principle of our Philosophie.

For if it be true vvhich Aristotle sayeth, ther

is no agent so simple in the vworld, vvhich vvorketh not for some final end, (as the birde buildeth not her nest but to dvvel and hatche her yong ones therin:)& not only this, but also that the same agent, doth alvvayes frame his vvorke according to the proportion of his entended end: (as vvhenthe Fox or Badger maketh a vvilde earth or denne, it is a signe that he meaneth to dravve thither great store of pray:) then must vve also in reason think, that so vvysse and polityke an agent, as is my L. of Leycester for him self, vvanteth not his end in these plottinges and preparations of his: I meane an end proportionable in greatnes to his preparatiōs. VVhich end, cā be no lesse nor meaner then Supream Soueraigntie. seing his prouisiō & furniture doe tend that vvay, & are in euerie point fullie correspondent to the same.

A Philo-
sophicall
argumēt
to proue
Ley. intē
of soue-
raigntie.

VVhat meaneth his so diligent beseeing of the Princesse person? his taking vp the vvayes and passages about her? his insolencie in Court? his singularity in the Councel? his violent preparation of strength abroad? his enriching of his Complices? the banding of his faction, vvyrth the abundance of friendes euerie vvhere? vvhat do thes thinges signifie (I say) and so manie other, as you haue vvell noted and mentioned before: but onelie his intent and purpose of Supreamacie? VVhat did the same thinges protend in tymes past in his father, but euen that vvvhich novv they protend in the sōne? or hovv should vve think, that the sonne hath an other meaning in the verie same actions, then had his father before him, vvwhose steppes he folovveth.

The pre-
paratiōs
of Leyc.
declare
his intē-
ded ende

Hovv the
Duke of
Northū.
dissebled
his end.

I remember I haue heard, often tymes of diuers auncient and graue men in Cambrige, hovv that in K. Edvwards dayes the Duke of Northumberland this mans father, vvas generally suspected of al men, to mean indeed as aftervvard he shewved, especialie vwhen he had once ioyned vvyth the house of Suffolk, and made him self a principal of that faction by mariage. But yet for that he vvas potent, and protested euerie vwhere, & by al occasions his great loue, devvrie, and special care, aboue al others, that he bare tovvardes his Prince & countrie: no man durste accuse him openlie, vntil it vvas to late to vvythstand his povver: (as commonlie it falleth out in such affaires) and the like is euident in my L. of Leycesters actions novv (albeit to her Ma. I doubt not, but that he vvil pretend and protest, as his father did to her brother), especialy novv after his open association vvith the faction of Huntington: vvwhich no lesse impugneth vnder this mans protection, the vvhole line of Henrie the 7. for right of the Crovvn, then the house of Suffolk did vnder his father the particular progenie of K. Henry the eighte.

GENTL.

The bold
nes of
the titlers
of Clarence.

Nay rather much more (quoth the gentleman) for that I do not reade in K. Edvwards reign, (vvhen the mater vvas in plotting notvvytstanding) that the house of Suffolk durst euer make open clayme to the next succession. But novv the house of Hastings is become so confident; vpon the strength and fauour of their fautors: as they dare both plot, practize and pretend, al at once, and feare not to set out their title, in euerie place, vvher as they come.

And do they not feare the statute (said the Lavv-
yer) so rigorous in this point, as it maketh the mat-
ter treason to determine of titles?

No, they need not (quoth the Gentleman) seing
their partie is so strong and terrible, as no man dare
accuse them: seing also they vvel knowv, that the
procurement of that statute, vvas onely to endan-
ger or stoppe the mouthes of the true successors,
vvhiles them selues, in the meane space, vvēt about
vnder-hand, to establissh their ovvn ambushment.

GENTL.

The abu-
se of the
statute
for silēce
in the
true suc-
cession.

VVel, (quoth the Lavver) for the pretence of my
L. of Huntington to the Crovvn, I vvil not stand
vvith yovv, for that yt ys a matter sufficientlie
knowv & sene throughout the Realm. As also that
my L. of Leicester is at this day, a principal fauourer
and patron of that cause. albeit some years past, he
vvēre an earnest aduersarie and enimie to the same.
But yet I haue heard some friendes of his, in reaso-
ning of these matters, deny stoutly a point or two,
vvhich you haue touched here, and do seeme to
believe the same.

LAVV.

And that is, first, that hovv soeuer my Lord of
Leycester do meane to help his friend, vvhen tyme
shal serue. yet pretēdeth he nothing to the Crovvn
him self. The seconde is, that vvhat soeuer may be
ment for the title, or compassing the Crovvn after
her Ma. death, yet nothyng is intended duryng
her raigne. And of both these pointes they alleage
reasons.

Two ex-
cuses al-
leaged by
Leycester
friendes.

As for the first, that my Lord of Leycester is verie
vvel knowven, to haue no title to the Crovvn him
self, either by discent in blood, alliaunce or other-
vvayes. For the second, that his L. hath no cause to

be a Mal-Cōtent in the present gouernement, nor hope for more preferment, if my L. of Huntington vveare king to morovve next; then he receaueth novv at her Ma. handes: hauing al the Realm (as hath bene shewved) at his ovvn disposition.

GENTL. For the first (quoth the Gentleman) vvwhether he meane the Crovvn for him selfe, or for his friēd, it importeth not much: seing both vvayes it is euident, that he meaneth to haue al at his ovvn disposition. And albeit novv for the auoiding of enuie, he giue it out, as a craftye fox, that he meaneth not but to runne vvith other men, and to hunt vvith Huntington and other houndes in the same chase: yet is it not vnlike, but that he vvil plaie the Beare, vvhen he commeth to deuiding of the praye, and vvil snatch the best parte to him selfe. Yea & these self same persons of his traine and faction, vvhom you cal his friendes, though in publique, to excuse his doinges, & to couer the vvhole plot, they vvil & must denie the matters to be so meāt: yet otherwise they both think, hope & knowv the cōtrary, and vvil not stick in secret to speak it, and among them selues, it is their talke of consolation.

The vvordes of the Lord Northe, to M. Poolie.

The vvordes of his special Councillour the Lord Northe, are knowvē, vvwhich he vttered to his rustie Poolie, vpon the receipt of a letter from Court, of her Ma. displeasure tovvardes him, for his being a vvitnesse at Leycesters second mariage vvith Dame Lettice (although I knowv he vvvas not ignorant of the first) at VVanstead: of vvwhich displeasure, this Lord making far lesse accompt then, in reason he should, of the iust offence of his soueraigne, said: that for his ovvn parte he vvvas resolved to sink or

swimme vvith my L. of Leycester : vvho (saith he) if once the Cardes may come to shuffling (I vvil vse but his verie ovvn vvordes) I make no doubt but he alone shal beare avvay the bucklers.

Poolie tolde this to Syr Robert Iermine.

The vvordes also of Sir Thomas Layton, to Sir Henrie Neuile, vvalking vpon the. Tarrasse at VVindsore are knowven, vvho tolde him, after lōg discourse of their happie conceiued kingdom, that he doubted not, but to see him one day, hold the same office in VVindsore, of my L. of Leicester, vvhicke novv my L. did hold of the Quene. Meaning therby the goodlie office of Constableschip, vvith al Royalties and honours belōging to the same, vvhicke novv the said Sir Henrie exerciseth onelie as deputie to the Earle. VVhich vvvas plainly to signifie, that, he douted not but to see my L. of Leycester one day king, or els his other hope could neuer possiblie take effect or come to passe.

The vvordes of Sir Thomas Layton brother in Lawe to my Lord.

To the same point, tēded the vvordes of Mistres Anne VVest Dame Lettice sister, vnto the Ladie Anne Askevve in the great Chamber, vpon a day vvhen her brother Robert Knowvles had daunsed disgratiousslie & skornefullie before the Q. in presence of the Frēche. VVhich thing for that her Ma. took to proceed of vvil in him, as for dislik of the straungers in presence, & for the quarel of his sister Essex: it pleased her highnesse to check him for the same, vvith addition of a reprochful vvord or tvvo (ful vvell deserued) as though done for dispite of the forced absence, from that place of honour, of the good olde Gētle vvomā (I mitigate the vvords) his sister. VVhich vvordes, the other yonger tvvigge receiuing in deepe duden, brake forth in great

The vvordes of Mistres Anne VVest Sister vnto this holie Countesse.

choler to her fornamed companion, and said, that she nothing doubted, but that one day she should see her sister, vpon vvhom the Q^{ue} rayled now so much (for so it pleased her to tearme her Ma. sharp speech) to sit in her place and throne, being much vvorthier of the same, for her qualities and rare vvirtues, the vv as the other. VVhich vnduetiful speech, albeit, it vv ere ouer heard and cōdemned of diuers that sat about them: yet none durst euer reporte the same to her Ma. as I haue heard sundrie courtiers affirme, in respect of the reuenge vv hich the reporters should abid at my L. of Leycesters handes, vv hē so euer the matter should come to light.

And this is nowv concerning the opinion and secret speech of my Lordes ovvn friendes, vv ho cannot but vtter their conceipt and iudgement in tyme and place conuenient, vv hat so euer they are vv illed to giue out publicklye to the contrarie, for deceiuing of such as vv il belieue faire paited vv ordes, against euident and manifest demonstration of reason.

Three arguments
of Leycesters
meaning for
him self
before
Hūtington.

I say reason, for that if none of thes signes and tokens vv ere, none of thes preparations nor anie of thes speeches & detections, by his friendes that knowv his hart: yet in force of plaine reason, I could aleadge vnto you three argumentes onely, vv hich to anie man of intelligence, vv ould easilie persvvade and giue satisfaction, that my L. of Leicester meaneth best & first for him self in this sure. VVhich three argumentes, for that you seme to be attent, I vv il not stick to runne ouer in al breuitie.

The first
argument

And the first, is, the verie nature and qualitie of ambition it self, vv hich is such, (as you knowv,) that

it neuer stayeth, but passeth from degre to degre, and the more it obteyneth, the more it couereth, and the more esteemeth it self, both vvorthie and able to obteyne. And in our matter that novv vve handle, even as in vvovvyng, he that sueth to a Ladie for an other, and obteineh her good vvil, entereth easilie into conceipt of his ovvn vvorthines therby, and so commonlie into hope of speeding him self vvwhile he speaketh for his friend: so much more in kingdomes: he that seeth hī self of povver to put the Crovvne of an other mās head, vvil quic-
the Na-
ture of
ambition

Adde to this, that ambitio is Ielious, suspitious, and feareful of it self, especialie vvhen it is ioyned vvith a conscience loaden vvith the guilt of manie crymes, vvherof he vvould be loth to be called to accompt, or be subiect to anie man that might by authoritie take reuevv of his life and actions, vvhe it should please him. In vvwhich kinde, seing my L. of Leycester hath so much to encrease his feare, as before hath bene shewved, by his vvicked dealin- ges: it is not like, that euer he vvil put him self to an others mās courtesie, for passing his Audicte in par- ticular reckonings, vvwhich he can no vvay ansvver or satisfie: but rather vvil stand vpon the grosse Summe, and general *Quietus est*, by making him self chiefe Auditour and Master of al accomptes for his ovvn parre in this life, hovv so euer he do in the next: vvherof such humours haue litle re-

garde. And this is for the nature of ambition in it self.

The second argument.
Leycester particular disposition.

Leycester disposition to rāper for a kingdō.

I meane the noble olde Erle of Penbrooke.

The vnderfull deuise of, Naturall issue, in the statute of succession.

The second argument may be taken from my L. particulars disposition: vvhich is such, as may giue much light also to the matter in question: Being a disposition so vvel liking & inclined to a kingedō, as it hath bene tampering about the same, from the first day that he came in fauour. First by seeking openlie to marrie vwith the Q. Ma. her self, and so to dravv he Crowvn vpon his ovvn head, and to his posteritie. Secondlie, vwhen that attempt tooke not place, then he gaue it out, as hath bene shewed before, hovv that he vvas priuile contracted to her Maiestie (vwherin as I tolde you his dealing before for satisfaction of a straunger, so let him vvyth shame and dishonour remember novv also, the spectacle he secretlie made for the persvading of a subiect and Councillor of great honour in the same cause) to the end that if her highnes should by anie vway haue miscarried, then he might haue entituled anie one of his ovvn broode, (vwherof he hath store in manie places as is knowven) to the lawfull succession of the Crowvn, vnder coulour of that priuie and secret mariage, pretending the same to be by her Maiestie: vwherin he vvil vvant no vvitnesses to depose vwhat he vvil. Thirdlie vwhen he savve also that this deuise vvas subiect to danger, for that his priuie contract might be denied, more easilie, then he able iustlie to proue the same, after her Maiesties discease: he had a nev्व fetch to strengthen the matter and that vvas to cause thes vvordes of (NATVRAL ISSUE) to be put into the statute of succession for the Crowvn, against all

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order and custome of our Realm, and against the
knovven common stile of lavv, accustomed to be
vsed in statutes of such matter: vvherby he might
be able after the deathe of her Ma. to make legiti-
mate to the Crovv, anie one bastard of his ovvn
by anie of so manie hakneis as he keepeth, affirmig
it to be the Naturall issue of her Maiestie by him
self. For no other reason can be imagined vvhy
the auncient vsual vvordes of, LAVV FVL ISSUE
should so cunninglie be chaunged into NATV-
RAL ISSUE Therby not onelie to indaunger
our vvhole Realme vvith nev्व quarels of succes-
sion: but also to touch (as far as in him lieth) the
Royall honour of his soueraigne, vvho hath bene
to him but to bounteful a Princeesse.

Fourthlie, vvhen after a tyme thes fetches and
deuises, began to be discovered, he chaunged
streight his course, and turned to the Papistes and
Scottish faction, pretending the mariage of the
Q. in prison. But yet after this againe, finding
therin not such successe as cōtented him through-
lie, and hauing in the meane space a nev्व occasion
offred of baite: he betook him self fiftlie to the, par-
tie of Huntington: hauing therin (no doubt) as
good meaning to him self, as his father had by
ioyning vvith Suffolk. Marie yet of late, he hath
cast a nev्व about, once againe, for him self in secret,
by treating the mariage of yong Arbella, vvith his
sonne intituled the Lord Denbighe.

The mar-
riage of
Arbella

So that by this vve see the disposition of this
man bent vvholie to a sceptrer. And albeit in right,
title and discent of blood (as you say) he can
iustlie clayme neither kingdome nor Cotage

(considering either the basenesse or disloyaltie of his auncestors:) yf in respect of his present state & povver, & of his naturall pride, ambitiō, & crafty conueyance receyued frō his father: he hath learned hovv to put him self first in possession of ch ef rule, vnder other pretences, and after to deuise vpo the title at his leysure.

The 3. argument.
The nature of the cause it self.

But nowv to come to the third argument: I saie more and aboue al this, that the nature and state of the matter it self, permitteth not, that my L. of Leycester should meane sincerelie the Crowvn, for Huntington, especialie seing ther hath passed betvven them so many yeares of dislike and enimity: vvhich, albeit, for the time & present commodiry, be couered and pressed dovv: yet by reason and experience vve knowv, that aftervvard vwhen they shal deale together againe in matters of importaunce, and vwhen ielousie shalbe ioyned to other circumstaunces of their actiōs: it is impossible that the former mislike should not breake out in far higher degre, then euer before.

The nature of olde reconciled enemyty.

As vve saue in the examples of the reconciliation, made betvvixt this mans father and Edvvard Duke of Somerset, bearing rule vnder king Edvv. the sixt: and betvven Richard of York, & Edmund Duke of Somerset, bearing rule in the time of king Henry the 6. Both vvhich Dukes of Somerset, after reconciliatiō vvyth their olde, craftie & ambitious enemies, vvere brought by the same to their destruction soone after. VVherof I doubt not, but my L. of Leycester vvil take good heed, in ioyning by reconciliation vvyth Huntington, after so longa breach: and vvil not be so improuident, as to make

him his soueraign, vvho novv is but his dependēt. He remembreth to vvell the successe of the L. Stāley vvho helped K. Hérie the 7. to the Crowne: of the Duke of Buckingham, vvho did the same for Richard the 3. of the Earle of VVarvvick, vvho set vp K. Edvvard the 4. and of the three Percies, vvho aduāced to the Scepter K. Henry the 4. Al vvich noble men vpon occasions that after fel out: vvere revvarded vvith death, by the self same Princes, vvhom they had preferred

And that not vvithout reason as Siegnior Machauel my L. Councillor affirmeth. For that such Princes, aftervvard can neuer giue sufficient satisfaction to such friendes, for so great a benefit received. And consequētie, least vpon discontentmēt, they may chaunce do as much for others against them, as they haue done for them against others: the surest vvay is, to recompence them, vvith such a revvarde, as they shal neuer after be able to complaine of.

The reason of Machauel.

VVherfore I can neuer think that my L. of Leicester vvil put him self in daunger of the Like successe at Huntingtons hādes: but rather vvil folovv the plot of his ovvn father, vvith the Duke of Suffolk, vvhom no doubt, but he meant onelie to vse for a pretext and help, vvherby to place him self in supreamē dignitie, and aftervvardes vvhat so euer had befallen of the state, the others head could neuer haue come to other end, thē it enjoyed. For yf Q. Marie had not cut it of, K. Iohn of Northūberland, vvould haue done the same in tyme, and so al men do vvell knovv, that vvere priuie to anie of his cunning dealinges.

The meaning of the Duke of Northumber. vvith Suffolk.

South-
hovie.

And vvhath Huntingtons secret opinion of Leycester is (notvvvithstanding this ovvtvvarde shenvv of depēdence) it vvas my chaūce to learne, from the mouth of a special man of that Hastie king, vvho vvas his ledger or agent in London and at a tyme faling in talke of his masters title, declared, that he had heard him diuers tymes in secret, complaine to his Ladie, (Leycesters sister) as greatlie fearing that in the end, he vvould offer him vvrong, and pretend some title for him selfe.

L A V V.

The mea-
ning of
the D. of
Northū.
towards
the D. of
Suffolk.

VVel (quoth the Lavvyer) it seemeth by this last point, that thes tvvo Lords, are cunning practifioners in the arte of dissimulation: but for the former vvherof you spake, in truth, I haue hearde men of good dicourse affyrme, that the Duke of Northumberland had straunge deuises in his head, for deceauing of Suffolk (vvho vvas nothing so fine as him self,) and for bringing the Crovvn to his ovvn familie. And among other deuises it is thought, that he had most certaine intention to marrie the Ladie Marie him self, (after once he had brought her into his ovvn handes) and to haue bestowed her Ma. that novv is, vpon some one of his children (yf it should haue bene thought best to giue her lyfe,) & so cōsequentlie to haue shaken of Suffolk and his pedegre, vvvyth condigne punishment, for his bolde behauour in that behalf.

SCHOL.

Verilie (quoth I) this had bene an excellent Stratageme, yf it had taken place. But I pray you (Sir) hovv could him self haue taken the Ladie Marie to vvye, seing he vvas at that tyme married to an other?

GENTL.

Oh (quoth the Gentlemen) you question like

a Scholar. As though my L. of Leycester had not a vvyfe a liue, vvhē he first began to pretend marriage to the Q. Ma. Doe not you remember the storie of K. Richard the third, vvhō at such tyme as he thought best for the establis hing of his title: to marrie his ovvn nepce, that aftervvard vvas married to king Henrie the seuēth, hōv he caused secretlie to be giuen abroode that his ovvn vvyfe vvas dead, vvhō al the vworld knevv to be then a liue and in good health, but yet soone aftervvard she vvas sene dead indeed. Thes great personages, in matters of such vveight, as is a kingdom, haue priuileges to dispose of vvomens bodies, mariages, liues and deathes, as I halbe thought for the tyme moſte conuenient.

The prac
tice of K.
Richard
for dispat
ching his
vvyfe.

And vvhāt do you think (I pray you) of this nev v TRIVM VIRAT so latelie concluded about Arbella? (for so I must cal the same, though one of the three persons be no, Vir, but, Virago,) I meane of the marriage betvvē yong Débigh & the litle daughter of Lenox, vvhē by the father in lawe, the Grand-mother & the vnclē of the nev v designed Queene, haue conceyued to them selues a singular tryumphant reigne. But vvhāt doe you think may ensue hereof? is ther nothing of the olde plot of duke Iohn of Northumberland in this?

A nev v
Triumui-
rate be-
tvvē Ley.
Talbot &
the Cou-
tesse of
Shreus-
bury.

Marie, Sir, (quoth the Lavvyer) yf this be so: I dare assure you ther is sequele enough pretended hereby. And first no doubtr, but ther goeth a deep drift, by the vvife and sonne, against olde Abraham (the husband and father) vvith the vvē l yned large poutch. And secondlie a far deeper by trustie Robert against his best Mistres: but deepest of al by the vvhole Crevv, against the designementes

L A V V.

Hunting
ton.

of the Blastie Earle: vvho thirsteth a kingdome; vvith great intemperaunce, and seemeth (yf there vvere plaine dealing) to hope by thes good people to quench he shortlie his drought. But either parte, in truth, seeketh to deceyue other: and therfore it his hard to saye vvher the game in fine vvil reste.

GENTL.

The
fleightes
of Lei. for
bringing
al to him
self.

VVel hovv so euer that be (quoth the Gértleman) I am of opinion, that my Lord of Leycester, vvyl vse both this practize and manie moe, for bringing the sceptrer finalie to his ovvn head: & that he vvil not onlie imploy Huntington to defeat Scotland, and Arbella to defeat Huntington: but also vvould vse the mariage of the Q. imprisoned, to defeat them both, yf she vvere in his hand: and anie one of al thre to dispossesse her Ma. that novv is: as also the authoritie, of al fover to bring it to him self: vvith manie other fetches, flinges & friscoes besides, vvich simple men as yet do not conceiue.

Scābling
betvven
Ley. and
Hunting
ton at the
vpshot.

And hovv so euer thes tvvo conioyned Earles, do seeme for the tyme to dravv together, and to playe bootie: yet am I, of opinion, that th'one vvill beguile th'other at the vps hopt. And Hastigs for ought I see, vvhen he commeth to the scambling, is like to haue no better luck by the Beare, then his auncestor had once by the Boare. VVho vsing his help first in murdering the sonne & heire of K. Henrie the sixt, and after in destroying the faithful friendes and kinsmen of K. Edvvard the fift, for his easier vvay to vsurpation: made an ende of him also in the Towver, at the verie same day & houre, that the other vvere by his couñail destroyed in Pontfract Castle. So that vvhere the Goale and price of the game is a kingdom: ther is neither

Richard
of Gloce
ster An. 1.
Edvv. 5.

faith, neither good fellowvship, nor faire playe, amōg the Gamesters. And this shalbe enough for the first point: viz. vvhat good my L. of Leycester meaneth to him self in respect of Huntington.

To vvching the second, vvwhether the attempt be purposed in her Ma. dayes, or no, the matter is much lesse doubtful, to him that knowveth or can imagine, vvhat a tormēt the delaye of a kingdome is, to such a one as suffreth hungar therof, and feareth that euerie houre may breed some alteration, to the preiudice of his conceyued hope. VVe see often tymes that the chylde is impatient in this matter, to expect the natural ende of his parentes lyfe. VVhom, notwithstanding, by nature he is enforced to loue: and vvho also by nature, is like long to leaue this vvorlde before him: and after vvhos discease, he is assured to obteine his desire: but most certaine of dāgerous euent, yf he attempt to get it, vvwhile yet his parēt liueth. VVhich fover considerations, are (no doubt) of great force to conreine a childe in duetie, and bridle his desire: albeit some tymes not sufficient to vvhythstand the greedie appetit of reigning.

2. That the conspirators meane in her Ma. dayes.

Fover considerations.

But vvhat shal vve think, vvhere none of thes fover cōsideratiōs do restreine? vvhere the present possessor is no parent? VVher sh he is like by nature, to out-liue the expector? vvhos death must needes bring infinit difficulties to the enterprise? and in vvhos lyfe tyme, the matter is moſte easie to be atchiued, vnder coulour and authoritie of the present possessor? shal vve think that in such a case the ambitious mā, vvil ouerrule his ovvn passion, and leese his commoditie?

A thing
worthye
to be no-
ted in
ambiti-
ous men.

Hest. 5.

As for that, vvhich is alleaged before, for my L. in the reason of his defenders: that his present state is so prosperous, as he cannot expect better in the next chaunge vvhath soeuer should be: is of small moment, in the conceipt of an ambitious head, vvhos eye and hart is alvvayes vpon that, vvhich he hopeth for, and enioyeth not: and not vpon that vvhich alredie he possesseth, be it neuer so good. Especialie in matters of honour and authoritie, it is an infalible rule, that one degre desired & not obteyned, afflicteth more, then fīue degrees alredie possessed, can giue consolation: the storie of Duke Aman, confirmeth this euidently, vvhobeing the greatest subiect in the vvorlde vnder kinge Asuerus, after he had reconed vp all his pōpe, riches, glory & felicity to his friēdes, yet he sayed, that al this vvas nothing vnto hī, vntil he could obtaine the reuenge, vvhich he desyred, vpon Mardocheus his enemy: & hereby it cōmeth ordinarily to passe, that amōge highest in authoritie, are found the greatest store of Mal-Contents, that most doe endanger ther Prince and countrie.

The Percies.

VVhen the Percies toke parte vvyth Henric of Bolingbrook, against K. Richard the seconde their lawfull soueraign: it vvas not for lack of preferment: for they vvere excedinglie aduanced by the said king, and possessed the three Earldomes of Northumberland, VVorcester, and Stafford together, besides manie other offices and dignities of honour.

The Neuiles.

Inlike sort, vvhenthe rvyo Neuiles, toke vpon them, to ioine vvyth Richard of York, to put downe their moste benigne Prince king Henric

the sixt: and after againe in the other side, to put
dovvn king Edvvard the fourth: it vvas not vp-
pon vwant of aduancement: they being Earles
both of Salisburie and VVarvvick, and Lordes of
manie notable places besides. But it vvas vpon a
vaine imagination of future fortune, vvherby such
men are commonlie led: and yet had not they
anie smell in their nostrells, of gettinge the kingdō
for thē selues, as this mā hath to prick hī forvvard.

Yf you say that thes men hated their soueraign,
and that therby they vvwere led to procure his de-
struction: the same I may ansvvere of my L. lyuinge
though of al men he hath least cause so to do. But
yet such is the nature of vvicked ingratitude, that
vvhere it ovveth most, & disdeigneth to be bound:
ther vpon euerie litle discontentement, it turneth
double obligation into triple hatred.

Leycester
hatred to
her Ma.

The euill
nature of
ingrati-
tude.

This he shewved euidentlie in the tyme of his
litle disgrace, vvherin he not onelie did diminif h,
vilipend, and debase among his friendes, the inesti-
mable benefites he hath receyued from her Ma.
but also vsed to exprobrate his ovvn good ser-
uices & merites, & to touch her highnes vvith in-
grat consideration and recompence of the same.
vvhich behauour together vvith his hastie prepa-
ration to rebellion, and assault of her Ma. Royal
person & dignitie, vpon so smal a cause giuen: did
vvel shew vvhat minde invvardlie he beareth to
his soueraign, and vvhat her Ma. may expect, if by
offending him, she should once fal vvithin the cō-
passe of his furious payves: seing such a smoke of
disdaine could not proceed, but from a fyrie fur-
nace of hatred vvithin.

Leycester
speeches
of his Ma.
in the
tyme of
his dis-
grace.

The cau-
ses of ha-
tred in
Leycester
towards
her Ma.

And surelie it is a vvoūderful matter to consider vvhāt a litle check, or rather the bare imagination of a smal ouerthvvar, may vvorke in a proude and disdeignful Stomack. The remembraunce of his mariage missed, that he so much pretended and desired vvyth her Ma. doth stick deeplie in his breast and stirreth him daylie to reuenge. As also doth the disdeigne of certaine checkes & disgraces receyued at some tymes, especialie that of his last mariage: vvhich irketh him so much the more, by how much greater feare and daunger it brought him into, at that tyme, and did put his vvidowve in such open phrensie, as she raged manie monethes after, against her Ma. and is not cold yet: but remayneth as it vvere a svvorne enimie, for that iniurie, and standeth like a fiend or furie at the elbowve of her Amadis, to stirre him forvard vvhē occasion shal serue. And vvhāt effect such female suggestiōs may vvorke, vvhē they finde an humour proude and pliable to their purpose: you may remember by the example of the Duches of Somerset, vvhō enforced her husbāde to cut of the head, of his onely deare brother, to his ovvn euident destruction, for her contentation.

The force
of female
sugges-
tions.

An eui-
dent Cō-
clusion
that the
executiō
is meati-
tyme of
her Ma.

VVherfore, to conclude this matter vvythout further dispute or reasō: seying ther is so much disco- uered in the case as ther is: so great desire of reigne, so great impatience of delay, so great hope and habilitie of succes, if it be attempted, vnder the good fortune and present authoritie of the competitors: seing the plattes be so vvell layde, the preparation so forwarde, the fauorers so furnished, the tyme so propitious, and so manie other causes conuincing together

together: seing that by differring, al may be hazar-
ded, and by hastening, litle can be indaungered,
the state and condition of thinges vvel vveyed:
finding also the bandes of duetie so broken alredie
in the conspiratours, the causes of mislike and ha-
tred so manifest, and the solicitoursto execution, so
potent and diligent, as vvomen, malice, and ambi-
tion, are vvount to be: it is more then probable,
that they vvil not leese their present commoditie,
especialie seing they haue learned by their Archi-
type or Protoplote vvwhich they folovv (I meane
the conspiracie of Nortumberland and Suffolk in
king Edvwards dayes) that herein ther vvas some
error committed at that tyme, vvwhich ouerthrevv
the vvhole, and that vvas, the differring of some
thinges vntil after the kinges death, vvwhich should
haue bene put in execution before.

An error
of the fa-
ther novv
to be cor-
rected by
the sonne

For yf in the tyme of their plotting, vvhen as yet
theyr desygnementes vvwere not publyshed to
the vvorld, they had vnder the countenance of the
kinge (as vvvel they might haue done) gotten into
their handes the vvwo sisters, and dispatched some
other fevv affaires, before they had caused the yong
Prince to die: no doubt, but in mans reason the
vvhole designement had taken place: and conse-
quentlie it is to be presupposed, that thes men
(being no fooles in their ovvn affaires) vvil take
heed of falling into the like errour by delay: but
rather vvil make al sure, by striking vvwhile the iron
is hoat, as our prouetbe vvvarneth them.

It can not be denied in reason (quoth the Lavvier) L A V V
but that they haue manie helpes of doing vvwhat
they list now, vnder the present fauour, counte-

naïce & authoritie of her Ma. vvhich they ſhould not haue after her highnes diſceafe: vvhē ech man ſhal remain more at libertie for his ſupreamē obedience, by reaſon of the ſtatute prouided for vncertētie of the next ſucceſſor: and therfore I for my parte, vvould rather counſail them, to make much of her Ma. lyfe: for after that, they litle know vvhat may enſue, or befall their designementes.

GENTL. They vvyl make the moſt therof (quoth the Gētle man) for their ovvn aduantage, but after that, vvhat is like to folovv, the examples of Edvvard & Richard the ſecōd, as alſo of Henrie & Edvvard the ſixt, doe ſufficientlie forvvarne vs: vvhoſ liues vvēre prolonged, vntil their deathes vvēre thought more profitable to the conſpirators, & not longer.

Her Ma. lyfe and death, to ſerue the conſpirators turn.

And for the ſtatute you ſpeak of, procured by them ſelues, for eſtabliſhing the incertaintie of the next true ſucceſſor (vvheras al our former ſtatutes vvēre vvout to be made for the declaration & certētie of the ſame) it is vvyth P R O V I S O, (as you know) that it ſhal not endure longer, then the lyfe of her Ma. that novv reigneth: that is, indeed, no longer then vntil them ſelues be redie to place an other.

A proclamation vvyth hal ters.

For then, no doubt, but vve ſhal ſee a faire proclamation, that my L. of Huntington is the onelie next heire: vvith a bundle of halters to hāg al ſuch, as ſhal dare once open their mouth for deniall of the ſame.

L A V V. At theſe vvordes the olde Lavvyer ſtepped back, as ſome vvhat aſtonied, and began to make croſſes in the ayer, after theyr faſhyon, vvherat vve laughed, and then he ſaid: truelie my maſters I had

Papiſtical bleſſing.

thought that no man had conceyued so euil imagination of this statute, as my self: but novv I perceiue that I alone am not malicious. For my owne parte, I must confesse vnto you, that as often as I reade ouer this statute, or think of the same (as by diuers occasions manie tymes I do) I feele my self much greeued and afflicted in minde, vpon feares vvhich I conceyue vvhath may be the end of this statute to our countrie, and yvhat priuie meaning, the chiefe procurers therof might haue for their owne driftes, against the Realm and lyfe of her Ma. that novv reigneth.

The statute of concealig the heire apparent.

And so much more it maketh me to doubt, for that in al our recordes of lavv, you shal not finde (to my remembraunce) anie one example of such a deuise, for concealing of the true inheritour: but rather in all ages, states, and tymes (especiallie from Richard the first dovvneward) you shal finde statutes, ordinaunces, and prouisions, for declaration and manifestation of the same, as you haue vvel obserued and tovvched before. And therefore this straunge & newv deuise, must needes haue some straunge and vnaccustomed meaning: & God of his mercie graunt, that it haue not some strange and v unexpected euent.

Richard going towards Hierusalem begā the custome by parliament, as Polydore noteth Anno 10. of Rich. 2. to declare the next heire.

In sight of al men, this is alredie euident, that neuer countrie in the vworld, vvas brought into more apparent daunger of vtter ruin, then ours is at this daye, by pretence of this statute. For vvhether as ther is no Gentleman so meane in the Realm, that cannot giue a gesse more or lesse, vvhether shal be his next heire, and his tennautes soone coniecture, vvhath manner of person shalbe theyr

The danger of our countrie by concealing the next heire

next Lord: in the title of our noble Crowne, vvhether of al the rest dependeth, nether is her Ma. permitted to know or saye, vvhich shalbe her next successor, nor her subiectes allowed to vnderstand or imagine, vvhich in right may be their future soueraigne: An intollerable iniurie in a matter of so singular importaunce,

Great inconueniences.

For (alas) vvhich should become of this our native countrie, if God should take from vs her moste excellent Ma. (as once he vvil) and so leaue vs destitute vpon the sudden? vvhich should become of our liues, of our states, and of our vvhole Realm or gouernement? can anie man promise him self, one daye longer of rest, peace, possession, lyfe or libertie vvhithin the land, then God shal lend vs her Ma. to reigne ouer vs? VVhich albeit, vve do & are bound to vvish that it may be long: yet reason telleth vs, that by course of Nature, it cannot be of anie great continuance, and by a thousand accidentes it may be much shorter. And shal then our moste noble common vvealth and kingdome, vvhich is of perpetuitie, and must continue to our selues and our posteritie, hang onelie vpon the life of her highnes alone, vvell strooken in years, and of no great good health or robustious and strong complexion.

Sir Christopher Hattons oration.

I vvvas vvhithin hearing some six or seuen yeares ago, vvhich Sir Christopher Hatton, in a verie great assemblie, made an eloquent oration (vvhich after I vvene vvvas put in print) at the pardoning and deliuerie of him from the gallouse, that by error (as vvvas thought) had discharged his peece vpon her Ma. Barge, and hurte certain persons in her highnes presence. And in that oration he declared and

OF A SCHOLAR OF CAMBRIGE. II^s
described verie effectualie, vvhath inestimable dā-
mage had ensued to the Realm, yf her Ma. by that
or anie other meanes should haue bene takē from
vs. He set foorth moſte liuelie before the eyes of
al men, vvhath dyuyſion, vvhath diſſenſion, vvhath
bloodſhed had ensued, and vvhath fatal daungers
vvere moſte certaine to fal vpon vs, vvhē ſo euer
that doleful day ſhould happen: vvhē in no man
ſhould be ſure of his lyfe, of his goods, of his vvife,
of his childrē: no mā certaine vvhether to flie, vvhō
to ſolovv, or vvhēre to ſeek reſoſe and proteſtion.

And as all the hearers ther preſent did eaſilie
graunt that he therin ſaid trouth and far leſſe then
might haue bene ſaid in that behalf, thinges ſtan-
ding as they do: ſo manie one (I trovve) that hearde
thes vvordes proceed from a Councillor, that had
good cauſe to knowv the ſtate of his ovvn couētric:
entered into this cogitation, vvhath puniſhmēt they
might deſerve then, at the vvhole ſtate & common
vvealths hādes, vvhō firſt by letting her Ma. from
marriage, & thē by procuring this ſtatute of diſſem-
bling the next inheritor: had brought their Realm
into ſo euident & ineuitable daūgers? for euerie one
vvell cōſidered & vveighed vvith him ſelf, that the
thing vvhiſh yet onely letted theſe daūgers & miſe-
ries ſet dovvn by Sir Chriſtopher, muſt neceſſarilie
one day faile vs al, that is, the lyfe of her Ma. novv
preſent: And then (ſay vve) hovv falleth it out, that
ſo general a calamitie as muſt needes ouertake vs
ere it be long (& may, for anie thing vve knowv to
morovv next) is not puided for, as vvell as foreſene.

Is ther no remedie, but that vve muſt vvillinglie
& vvyttingly rūne into our ovvn ruin? and for the

fauour or feare of some few aspirours, betraye our countrie & the blood of so many thousand innocentes, as liue vvythin the land?

The mi-
series to
followe
vpon her
Maieſt.
death.

For tel me (good Sirs) I pray you, yf her Ma. should die to morovv next (vvhos lyfe God long preferue and blesse,) but yf she should be taken from vs, (as by condition of nature and humane frailtie she may) vvhath vould yovv doe? vvhich vway vould you looke? or vvhath head or parte, knevv anie good subiect in the Realm to folovv? I speake not of the cōspiratours, for I knowve they vvill be redie and resolved vvhom to folovv: but I speake of the plaine, simple and vvell meaning subiect, vvho folovving novv the vtter letter of this fraudulent ſtature, (fraudulēt I meane in the ſecret concept of the cunning aspirours:) ſhalbe takē at that day vpo the ſudden, & being put in a maze by the vnexpected cōtentiō about the Crovvn, ſhalbe brought into a thousand daungers, both of bodie & goodes, vvhich novv are not thought vpon, by them vvho are moſte in daunger of the ſame. And this is, for the common vvealth and countrie.

The daū-
ger to her
Ma. by
this ſta-
ture.

But vnto her Ma. for vvhos good and ſafitie, the ſtature is onely pretēded to be made, no doubt, but that it bringeth far greater daungers, then anie deuise that they haue vſed beſides. For hereby vnder coulour of reſtrayning the claymes & titles of true ſucceſſours, (vvhos endeouours notvvithſtanding; are commonlie more calme and moderate then of vſurpers,) they make vnto them ſelues, a meane to forſter and ſet forvard their ovvn conſpiracie vvithout controlment: ſeing no man of might may oppoſe hī ſelf againſt thē, but vvith

suspicion, that he meaneth to clayme for him self. And so they being armed, on the one side, vvyth their autoritie and force of present fortune, & defended, on the other side, by the pretence of the statute: they may securelie vvork and plot at their pleasure, as you haue vvell proued before that they do. And vvhen soeuer their groundes and foundations shalbe redie, it can not be denied, but that her Ma. lyfe, lyeth much at their discretiō, to take it, or vse it, to their best cōmoditie: (& ther is no doubt, but they vvil), as such men are vvount to do in such affaires. Marie one thing standeth not in their povvers so absolutelie, and that is, to prolong her Ma. dayes or fauoure tovvardes them selues, at theyr pleasures: vvherof it is not vnlike but they vvil haue due consideration, least perhappes vpon anie suddē accident, they mighte be found vnredie.

They haue good care therof I can assure you, GENTL. (quoth the gentleman) & mean not to be preuēted by anie accident, or other misshappe vvhat soeuer: they vvilbe redie for al euentes: and for that cause, they hasten so much their preparations at this day, more then euer before: by sending out theyr spies and solicitours euerie-vvhere, to proue and confirme their friendes: by deliuering their common vvatch-vvord: by cōplainīg on al hādes of our protestāt Bishoppes & Cleargy, & of al the presēt state of our irreformed religiō, (as thei cal it:) by amplyfyng only the daunger of Papists & Scottis he factiō: by giuīg out opēly that nowv her Ma. is past hope of childbirh, & cōsequently seing god hath giuē no better succes that vvay in tvvo vvomē one after the

The hast-
nyng of
the con-
spirators

other: it vvere not conuenient (say they) that another of that sexe should ensue: vvyth highe commendation of the Lavv Salick in Fraunce, vvheryby vvomen are forbidden, to succede. VVhich speech though in shevv, it be deliuered against the Q. of Scottes and other of K. Henrie the 7. his line, that discend of sisters: yet al men see that it toucheth as vvell the disabling of her Ma. that is present, as others to come: and so tendeth directlie to Maturatiō of the principal purpose, vvwhich I have declared before.

SCHOL. Here said I, for the rest vvwhich you speak of, besides the vvatch-vvord, it is common and euerie vvhere treated in talke amōg them: but yet for the vvatch-vvord it self (for that you name it) I think (Sir) manie knowv it not, if I vvere the first that tolde you the storie, as perchaunce I vvas. For in trueth I came to it by a rare happe (as then I tolde you) the thing being vttered & expōded by a Baron of their ovvn faction, to an other noble man of the same degre and religion, though not of the same opinion in thes affaires. And for that I am requested not to vtter the secōd, vvho tolde it me in secret, I must also spare the name of the first: vvwhich othervvise I vvould not, nor the tyme and place vvher he vttered the same.

LAVV. To this (said the Lavvyer) you do vvell in that: but yet I beseech you, let me knowv this vvatch-vvord (if ther be anie such) for mine instruction and help, vvhen need shal require. For I assure you that this gentlemans former speech of halters, hath so terrified me, as if anie should come and aske or feele my inclination in these matters, I vvould

answere them fullie to their good contentment, if I knew the watch-word, wherby to know the. For of all things, I loue not to be hanged for quarrells of kingdomes.

The watch-word is, (said I.) WHETHER YOU BE SETTLED OR NO? and if you ARE answered yea, & seeme to vnderstand the meaning YOU therof: then are you known to be of their factiō, SETTLED? & so to be accepted and dealt vvythall for things to come. But if you stagger or doubt in answering, as if you knew not perfectly the misterie (as the noble man my good Lord did, imagining that it had bene ment of his religion, which was verie well known to be good & settled in the gospel:) then are you discredited therby, either not to be of their side, or els to be but a Punic not well instructed, and consequentially, he that moueth you the question, will presently break of that speech, and turn to some other talk, vntil aftervvard occasion be giue to persvade you, or els instruct you better in that affaire.

A great
mysterye.

Marie the noble man, wherof I spake before, perceyuing by the demaunding, that ther was some misterie in couert, vnder the question: tooke holde of the words, & would not suffer the propouder to slip awaye (as he endeavored) but with much intreatie, brought him at length, to expound the full meaning & purpose of the riddle. And this was the first occasion (as I think) wherby this secret came abroad. Albeit afterwardes at the publique communions, which were made throughout so manie shires, the matter became more common: especiallye, amonge the strangers that inhabite as

you know) in great numbers with vs at this daye. Al which (as they say) are made moſte aſſured to this faction, and redie to aſſiſt the ſame with great forces at al occaſions.

LAVV.

Asſemblyes
at Com-
munions.

Straungers
vvythin
the Land.

The peril
of oure
countrie
if Hunting-
tons clai-
me take
place.

Good Lord (quoth the Lavvyer) how manie miſteries & ſecretes be ther abroad in the vworld, vwhereof vve ſimple men know nothing & ſuſpect leſſe. This vvarch-vvord ſhould I neuer haue imagined: and for the great and often aſſemblyes vnder pretence of Communions, though of them ſelues & of ther ovn nature, they vv ere vnaccuſtomed, & conſequētlie ſubiect to ſuſpition: yet did I neuer cōceiue ſo far forth as novv I do: as nether of the lodging and enterteining of ſo manie ſtraungers in the Realm, vwhereof our Artizās do cōplaine euerie vvhere. But novv I ſee the reaſon therof, vv which (no doubt) is founded vpon great policy for the purpoſe. And by this alſo I ſee, that the houſe of Huntington, preſſeth far forvv arde for the game, & ſhouldreth neare the goale to lay hādes vvpon the ſame. VVhich to tel you plainlie, liketh me but a litle: both in reſpecte of the good vv il I beare to the vvhole line of K. Henrie, vv which hereby is like to be diſpoſſeſſed: as alſo for the miſerie, vv which I do forſee, muſte neceſſarilie enſue vvpon our countrie, if once the chalenge of Huntington take place in our Realm. VVhich chalenge being deriued from the title of Clarence onlie, in the houſe of Yorke, before the vnion of the tvvo great houſes: rayſeth vp againe the olde cōtention, betvv en the families of Yorke and Lancaſter, vv wherein ſo much Engliſh blood vv as ſpilt in tymes paſt, and much more like to be poured out novv, if the ſame contention

shoud be set on foot againe. Seing that to the controuersie of titles, vvould be added also the controuersie of religion, vvwhich of al other differences is most daungerous.

Sir (quoth the Gentleman) novv you touche a GENTL.
matter of consequence indeed, & such as the verie naming therof, maketh my hart to shake & tréblé. I remember vvell, vvhat Philippe Cominus setteth dovne in his history of our countries calamitie, by that cōtention of thos tvvo houses, distingvvished by the read rose & the vvhyte: but yet both in their The read
rose and
the vvhyt
armes might iustlie haue borne the coulour of read vvith a fire svorde in a black field to signifie the aboundaunce of bloode and mortalitie, vvhych ensued in our countrie, by that moste vvoful and cruel contention.

I vvill not stand here to set dovvn the particulars, obserued & gathered by the forsaide author, though a straunger, vvwhich for the moste parte he savv himself, vvwhile he liued about the Duke of Burgundie & king Levves of Fraunce of that tyme: namely the pitiful description of diuers right noble mē of our Realm, vvho besides al other miseries, vvvere driuen to begge openlie in forraine countries, & the like. The miserie of England by the cōtention betvvē York and Lácaster.
Mine ovvn obseruation in reading ouer our cōtrie affaires, is sufficiēt, to make me abhorre the memorie of that tyme, and to dread al occasion, that may lead vs to the like in tyme to come: seing that in my iudgement, neither the ciuil vvarres of Marius & Sylla, or of Pompey & Cæsar among the Romanes nor yet the Guelphiās & Gibilines among the Italiās, did euer vvork so much vvoe, as this did to our Guelphians & Gibilines
poore cōtrie. VVherin by reason of the cōtention

Edvard
Plantagi-
net Earle of
Warvik.

The bat-
taile by
Tadcas-
ter on
palme Sō
daye An.
1460.

of York and Lancaster vvere foughten sixtiene or
seuentiene pitched fieldes, in lesse then an hūdreth
yeares. That is, from the eleuenth or twelfth yeare
of K. Richard the second his reigne (vwhen this
controuersie first began to bud vp) vnto the thir-
tienth yeare of K. Henrie the seuenth. At vwhat
tyme by cutting of the chiefe titler of Huntingtōs
house, to vvir, yong Edvard Plantaginet Earle of
VVarvvik sonne and heire to George Duke of Cla-
rence, the contention moste happily vvas quēshed
and ended, vvherin so manie fieldes (as I haue said)
vvere foughten, betvvē brethren & inhabitantes
of our ovvn nation. And therin, and othervvise
onelic about the same quarrel, vvere slaine murde-
red & made avvay, about 9. or 10. kinges & kinges
sonnes, besides aboue fortie Earles, Marqueesses,
& Dukes of names; but manie mo Lordes knights
and great Gentlemen and Captaines: and of the
common people vvithout nūber, and by particu-
lar cōiecture verie neare tvvo hundreth thousand.
For that in one battaile foughten by K. Edvard
the fourth, ther are recorded to be slaine on both
partes, fve & thirtie thousand seven hundreth and
eleuen persons, besides other vvounded and taken
prisoners, to be put to death aftervvard, at the plea-
sure of the Conquerour: at diuers battails after, ten
thousand slaine at a battaile. As in thos of Barnet &
Tukesbury, foughten both in one yeare.

This suffred our afflicted countrie in thos dayes,
by this infortunat and deadlie contention, vvwhich
could neuer be ended, but by the happy cōiunction
of thos tvvo houses to gether, in Henry the seueñth
neither yet so (as appeareth by Chronicle) vntil (as I

haue said) the state had cut of, the issue male of the Duke of Clarence, vvhich was cause of diuers perils to K. Henrie the seuenth, though he vvere in prison. By vvhos sister the faction of Huntington at this day, doth seeke to raise vp the same contention againe, vvith far greater daunger, both to the Realm and to her Ma. that nowv reigneth, then euer before.

And for the Realm it is euident, by that it giueth roome to straungers Comperitours, of the house of Lancaster: better able to mainteine their ovvn title by svvorde, then euer vvas any of that lineage before them. And for her Ma. perril present, it is nothing hard to cōiecture: seing the same title in the forsaide Erle of VVarvvik, vvas so daūgerous and troublesome to her graundfather (by vvhō she holdeth,) as he vvas faine tvvice to take armes in defence of his right, against the said title: vvich vvas in thos dayes preferred & aduanced by the friēdes of Clarence, before that of Hérie: as also this of Huntington is at this daye, by his faction, before that of her Ma. though neuer so vniustlie.

Touching Huntingtons title, before her Ma. LAVV. (quoth the Lavver) I vvil say nothing: be cause in reaso, I se not by vvhat pretēce in the vvorld, he may thrust him self so far forth: seing her Ma. is descended, not onelie of the house of Lancaster: but also before him moſte apparentlie, from the house of York it self, as from the eldest daughter of king Edvvard the fourth, being the eldest brother of that house. VVheras Huntington claimeth onelie, by the daughter of George Duke of Clarence the younger brother. Marie yet I must cōfesse that if the

The daūger of Huntingtons claime, to the Realm & to hir Ma

Howv Huntington maketh his title before her Maieſtie.

† The Earle of VVarvviks title, vvere better then that of moſte of K. Henrie the ſeuēth (vvhich is moſte falſe, though Hūting- manie attempted to defend the ſame by ſvword;) tōs ance- then hath Huntington ſome vvronge at this daye, tōurs by vvho he by her Ma. Albeit in verie trueth, the † attaintes of maketh ſo manie of his auncēſtors by vvhom he claineth: title, at- vvould anſvvere him alſo ſufficientlie in that be- tainted of half, if his title vvere othervvife allowvable. treason.

The infa-
mous de-
vice of
K. Rich.
the third
allowved
by Hun-
tington.

Anno. 1.
Mariæ.

A point
to be no-
ted by
her Ma.

But I knowv beſides this, they haue an other fetch of K. Richard the thirde, vvherby he vvould nedes proue, his elder brother kīg Edvvard to be a Baſtard: & cōſequētlie his vvhole line aſvvell male as female to be void. VVhich deuife though it be ridiculous, and vvvas at the tyme vvhen it vvvas firſt inuented: yet, as Richard found at that tyme a Doctor Shavve, that ſhamed not to publiſh and defend the ſame, at Paules Croſſe in a Sermon: and Iohn of Nor- thumberland my L. of Leyceſters father, founde out diuers preachers in his tyme, to ſet vp the title of Suffolk, and to debase the right of king Henries daughter, both in London, Cambridge, Oxeforde and other places, moſte apparentlie againſt al lavve and reaſon: ſo I doubt not, but theſe mē vvould finde out alſo, both Shavves, Sandes, and others, to ſet out the title of Clarēce, before the vvhole intereſt of K. Henrie the ſeuēth & his poſteritie, if occaſion ſerued. VVhich is a point of importance to be conſidered by her Ma. albeit for my parte, I meane not novv to ſtād thervpon, but onlie vpon that other of the houſe of Lancaſter, as I haue ſaid.

For as that moſte honorable, lavvful, and hap- pie coniunction of the tvvo aduetſarie houſes, in king Henrie the ſeuenth and his vvife, made an

end of the shedding of English blood within it self, & brought vs that moſte deſired peace, vvhich euer ſithence vve haue enioied, by the reigne of their two moſte noble iſſue: ſo the plot that now is in hand, for the cutting of, the reſidue of that iſſue, and for recalling backe of the vvhole title to the onelic houſe of Yorke againe: is like to plunge vs deeper, then euer in ciuile diſcorde, and to make vs the bayte of al forreine Princes: ſeing ther be among them at this daye, ſome, of no ſmall powver (as I haue ſaid) vvhich pretend to be the next heires by the houſe of Lancaſter: and conſequentlie, are not like to giue ouer or abandone their ovvn right, if once the doore be opened to contention for the ſame, by diſannulling the Line of K. Henrie the ſeuenth: vvhetherin onelic the keies of al concord remaine knit together.

The ioy-
ninge of
bothe
houſes.

The Line
of Portu-
galle.

And albeit I know vvel that ſuch as be of my Lord of Huntingtons partie, vvil make ſmall accompte of the title of Lancaſter, as leſſe rightfull a great deale then that of Yorke (and I for my parte meane not greatlie to auowve the ſame, as now it is placed, being my ſelfe no fauourer of forreine titles:) yet indifferent men haue to conſider, howv it vvas taken in tymes paſte, and howv it may againe, in tyme to come, if contention ſhould ariſe: howv manie Noble perſonnages of our Realm did offer them ſelues to die in defence therof: howv manie othes & lavves vvere giuen & receiued throughout the Realm for maĩtenaunce of the ſame, againſt the other houſe of York for euer: howv manie vvorthy kinges vvere Crowned, & reigned of that houſe & race, to vvith, the fover

The olde
eſtima-
tion of
the houſe
of Lan-
caſter.

moste noble Héries, one after an other, the four th, the fift, the sixt, and the seuenth : vvhó both in nūber, Gouernment, Sanctitie, Courage, and feates of armes, vvere nothing inferior (yf not superior) to thos of the other house and lyne of Yorke, after the diuision betvvene the families.

Henrie
Earle of
Richmōd

It is to be considered also, as a special signe of the fauour and affectiō, of oure vvhole natiō vnto that familie : that Henrie Earle of Richmond though discending but of the last sonne, and third vvyfe of Iohn of Gaunt Duke of Lácaster, vvas so respected, for that onelie by the vniuersal Realm : as they inclined vvholie, to cal him from banishment, & to make him king, vwith the deposition of Richard, vvhich then ruled of the house of York, vpon condition onlie, that the said Henrie should take to vvyfe, a daughter of the contrarie familie : so great vvas in thos dayes, the affection of English hartes, tovvards the line of Lancaster, for the great vvor-thynes of such kinges as had reigned of that race, hovv good or bad so euer their title vvere : vvhich I stand not heare at this tyme to discus, but onlie to insinuate, vvhát partie the same found in our Realm in tymes past, and consequentlie, hovv extreme daungerous the contention for the same may be herafter : especialie, seing that at this day, the remander of that title, is pretended to rest vvholie in a straunger. vvhos povver is verie great. VVhich vve Lavvyers are vvount to esteeme as a point of no smal importaunce, for iustifying of anie mans title to a kingedom.

The line
of Portu-
gal.

SCHOL. You Lavvyers vvant not reason in that Sir (quoth I) hovv so euer you vvant right : for if you vvil

examine the succession of governments, from the beginning of the world vnto this daye, either among Gentile, Iew, or Christian people, you shal find that the sword hath bene alwayes better then half the title, to get, establishe, or mainteyne a kingdom: vvhich maketh me the more appalled to heare you discourse in such sorte of new cōtentiōs, and forraine titles, accompanied vvyth such power and strength of the titlers. VVhich cannot be but infinitelic dangerous and fatal to our Realm, yf once it come to action, both for the diuision that is like to be at home, and the varietie of parties from abroad. For as the Prince vvhom you signifie, wil nor faile (by al likelihood) to pursue his title vvyth al forces that he can make, if occasion vvere offered: so reason of state and pollicie wil enforce other Princes adioynīg, to let & hinder him therein vvhāt they can: and so by this meanes shal vve become Iuda & Israel among our selues, one killing and vexing the other vvyth the sword: and to forraine Princes vve shalbe, as the Iland of Salamina vvas in olde tyme to the Athenians and Megarians: and as the Iland of Cicilia vvas afterward to the Grecians, Carthaginians and Romans: and as in our dayes the kingdom of Naples hath bene to the Spaniards, Frenchemen, Germans and Venetians, That is, a bayte to feed vpon, and a game to fight for.

The
sword of
greate
force to
iustifie
the title
of a king-
dom.

Greate
dangers.

VVherfore, I beseech the Lord, to auerte from vs all occasions of such miseries. And I pray you Sir, for that vve are fallen into the mētion of thes matters, to take so much paines as to open vnto me the ground of thes controuersies, so long now quiet,

betvven York and Lancaster: seing they are now like to be raised againe. For albeit in general I haue heard much therof, yet in particular, I either conceaue not, or remember not, the foundation of the same: and much lesse the state of theire seuerall titles at this daye, for that it is a studie not properlie pertaining vnto my profession.

L A V V. The controuersie betvvene the houses of York and Lancaster (quoth the Lavvyer) tooke his actual beginning in the issue of K. Edvard the third, vvho died somevvhat more then tvvo hundreth yeares gone: but the occasion, pretence or cause of that quarrel, began, in the children of K. Henrie the third, vvho died an hundreth yeares before that, and left tvvo sonnes, Edvard vvho vvvas king after him, by the name of Edvard the first, and vvvas Graundfather to Edvard the third: and Edmond, (for his deformitie called Crookback.) Earle of Lancaster and beginner of that house, vvhos inheritaunce aftervvard in the fovverth dissent, fel vpon a daughter named Blanche, vvho vvvas married to the fourth sonne of king Edvard the third, named Iohn of Gaunt, for that he vvvas borne in the Citye of Gaunt in Flaunders, and so by this his first vvvyfe, he became Duke of Lancaster and heire of that house. And for that his sonne Henrie of Bolingbrook (aftervvarde called K. Henrie the fourth) pretended among other thinges, that Edmond Crookback, great graundfather to Blanche his mother, vvvas the elder sonne of K. Henrie the third, and iniustelie put by the inheritaunce of the Crowne, for that he vvvas Crookebacked and deformed: he toke

The beginning
of the controuersie
betvixt
York and
Lancaster.

Edmond
Crooke-
back be-
ginner of
the house
of Lancaster.

Blanche.

Iohn of
Gaunt.

by force, the kingdom from Richard the second, nephew to king Edward the third by his first sonne, & placed the same in the house of Lancaster, where it remained for three whole discētes, until afterwarde, Edward Duke of York descended of John of Gautes younger brother, making clayme to the Crowne by title of his graundmother, that was heire to Lionel Duke of Clarence, John of Gautes elder brother: toke the same by force from Henrie the sixt, of the house of Lancaster, and brought it backe againe to the house of York: vvhether it continued vvith much trouble in two kinges onlie, until bothe houses vvere ioyned together in king Henrie the seuenth and his noble issue.

Hereby vve see how the issue of John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, fourth sonne to K. Edward the third, pretended right to the Crowne by Edmond Crookbacke, before the issue of al the other thre sonnes of Edward the third, albeit they vvere the elder brothers, vvherof vve vvill speake more hereafter. Now John of Gaunt though he had manie children, yet had he fower onlie, of vvhom issue remaine, two sonnes and two daughters. The first sonne was Henrie of Bolingbrooke Duke of Lancaster, vvho toke the Crowne from K. Richard the second, his vnckles sonne, as hath bene said, and first of al planted the same in the house of Lancaster: vvhere it remayned in two discētes after him, that is, in his sonne Henrie the first, and in his nephew Henrie the sixt, vvho was afterwarde destroyed together vvith Henry Prince of VVales, his only sonne & heire, and consequētie

How the kingdom was first brought to the house of Lancaster.

The issue of John of Gaunt

al that Line of Henrie Bolingbrok extinguished,
by Edvard the fourth of the house of York.

The pedigree
of
K Henrie
the 7.

The other sone of Iohn of Gaunt, vvas Iohn Duke
of Somerset by Katherin Sfinford, his third vvife:
vvhich Iohn, had issue an other Iohn, and he, Mar-
garet his daughter & heire, vvho being married to
Edmond Tyder Earle of Richmond, had issue Hen-
rie Earle of Richmond, vvho after vvas named K.
Henrie the seuenth, vvhos Line yet endureth.

The two
daughters
married to
Portugal
& Castile.

The two daughters of Iohn of Gaunt, vvvere
married to Portugal and Castile: that is, Philippe
borne of Blanche, heire to Edmond Crookback, as
hath bene said, vvas married to Iohn king of Por-
tugal, of vvhom is descended the king that novv
possesseth Portugal, and the other Princes vvhich
haue or may make title to the same: and Katherin
borne of Constance heire of Castile, vvas married
back againe to Hentie king of Castile in Spaine,
of vvhom king Philip is also descended. So that by
this, vve see, vvhere the remainder of the house of
Lancaster resteth, yf the Line of K. Henrie the se-
uenth vvvere extinguished: & vvhat pretext forreine
Princes may haue to subdue vs, yf my L. of Hun-
tington either novv or after her Ma. dayes, vvill
open to them the doore, by shutting out the rest of
K. Heries Line, & by drawing back the title to the
onlie house of York againe: vvhich he pretendeth
to do, vpon this that I vvill novv declare.

Forrayne
titles.

The issue
of king
Edvard
the third.

King Edvard the third, albeit he had manie chil-
dren, yet five onlie vvill vve speak of, at this tyme.
Vvherof thre vvvere elder then Iohn of Gaunt, and
one yonger. The first of the elder, vvas named
Edvard the Black Prince, vvho died before his

father, leauing one onlie sonne named Richard, vvho aftervvard being king and named Richard the second, vvvas depofed vvvythout iffue, and put to death by his Cofin germain, named Henrie Bolingbrook Duke of Lancafter, sonne to Iohn of Gaunt as hath bene faid, and fo there ended the Line of K. Edvvardes firft sonne.

King Edvvardes fecond sonne, vvvas VVilliam of Hatfield that died vvvythout iffue.

His thirde sonne, vvvas Leonell Duke of Clacence, vvhos onlie daughter & heire called Philippe, vvvas married to Edmond Mortymer Earle of Marche: and after that, Anne the daughter and heire of Mortymer, vvvas married to Richard Plantaginet Duke of York, sonne and heire to Edmund of Langley the firft Duke of York: vvwhich Edmund vvvas the fift sonne of K. Edvvard the third, and yonger brother to Iohn of Gaunt. And this Edmund of Langley may be called the firft beginner of the houfe of York: euen as Edmund Croockbacke the beginner of the houfe Lancafter.

Twvce
Edmūdes
the twvce
beginners
of the
twvce
houses of
Lancafter
& York.

This Edmund Langley then, having a sonne named Richard, that married Anne Mortymer sole heire to Leonel Duke of Clarece, ioined twvo Lines and twvce titles in one: I meane the Line of Leonel and of Edmund Langley, vvho vvvere (as hath bene faid) the third and the fift fonnnes to K. Edvvard the third. And for this caufe, the childe that vvvas borne of this marriage, named after his father Richard Plantaginet Duke of York, feing him felf ftrong, and the firft line of K. Edvvard the thirds eldeft sonne, to be extinguifhed in the death of K. Richard the fecond: and feing VVilliam, of Hatfield

The clai
me & title
of York.

the secōd sōne dead likevvise vvythout issue: made
demaund of the Crowvn for the house of York, by
the title of Leonel the third sonne of K. Edvvard.
And albeit he could not obteine the same in his
daies, for that he vvas slaine in a bataille against K.
Henrie the 6. at VWakefield: yet his sonne Edvvard
got the same, & vvas called by the name of king
Edvvard the foverth.

The issue
of king.
Edvvard
the 4.

This king at his death lefte diuers children, as
namlie tvvoe sonnes, Edvvard the fift and his bro-
ther, vvho after vv ere both murdered in the
Tovver, as shalbe shewved: & also fve daughters:
to vv it Elyzabeth Cicilie, Anne, Katherine, and
Briget. VVherof, the first vvas married to Héry the
7. The last became a Nūne, & the other thre, vv ere
bestovved vpon diuers other husbantes.

The Duk
of Cla-
rence at-
taynted
by parla-
ment.

He had also tvvo brothers: the first vvas called
George Duke of Clarence, vvho aftervvard vpon
his desertes (as is to be supposed), vvas put to death
in Callys, by commandement of the king, & his at-
taynder allovv ed by parlament. And this man left
behind him a sōne named Edvvard Erle of VVar-
vvik, put to death aftervvard vvythout issue, by
king Henrie the seuenth, and a daughter named
Margaret, Countesse of Salisburie, vvho vvas mar-
ried to a meane Gentlemā named Richard Poole,
by vv hom she had issue Cardinal Poole that died
vv ythout Mariage, & Héry Poole that vvas attain-
ted & execuded in K. Henrie the 8. his tyme (as also
her self vvas) & this Héry Poole left a daughter mar-
ried aftervvard to the Earle of Huntingtō, by vv hō
this Earle that novv is maketh title to the Crowvn.
And this is the effect of my L. of Huntingtōs title.

Huntig-
tons title
by the
Duke of
Clarece.

The second brother of king Edvard the fourth, vvas Richard Duke of Glocester, vvho after the K. death, caused his tvvo sonnes to be murdered in the Towver, and toke the kingedom to him self. And aftervvard he being slaine by king Henry the 7. at Bosvvorth fiede, left no issue behind him. VVherfore king Henry the 7. descending as hath bene shevved of the house of Lancaster, by Ihon of Gaunts last sonne & third vvife, & taking to vvysc ladie Elizabeth eldest daughter of K. Edvard the fourth of the house of York:ioyned most happely the tvvo famylies together, and made an end of all controuersies about the title.

K. Rich.
the third.

The hap-
pie cōiū-
tiō of the
tvvo
houses

Novv K. Henrie the 7. had issue three children: of vvhom remayneth posterity. First Henry the 8. of vvhom is descended our soueraine, her Ma. that novv happilie raigneth, and is the last that remaineth a liue of that first Line. Secōdlie he had tvvo daughters: vvherof the first named Margaret, vvas married tvvice, first to Iames king of Scotland frō vvhome are directlie discended the Q. of Scotland that novv liueth and her sonne: & K. Iames being dead, Margaret vvas married againe to Archybalde Douglas Earle of Angus he: by vvhom she had a daughter named Margaret, vvwhich vvas married aftervvard, to Mathevv Stevvard Earle of Lenox, vvhos sonne Charles Stevvard, vvas married to Elizabeth Cādifhe daughter to the presēt Coûtessē of Shrevvś burie, & by her hath left his onlie heire, a litle daughter named Arbella, of vvhom you haue heard some speech before. And this is tovvching the Line of Scotland, descending from the first & eldest daughter of K. Henrie the seuenth.

The issue
of king
Hēry the
seuenth.

The Line
and title
of Scot-
land by
Margar.
eldest
daughter
to king
Hēry the
seuenth.

Arbella.

The Lyne
& title of
Suffolke
by Marie
seconde
daughter
to king
Henry 7.

The issue
of Fraūcis
eldest
daughter
to Charls
Brandō
Duke of
Suffolk.

The issue
of Elenor
seconde
daughter
to Charls
Brandō.

The second daughter of K. Henrie the seventh called Marie, vvas tvvice married also: first to the king of Fraunce by vvhom she had no issue: and after his death to Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk, by vvhom she had tvvo daughters, that is, Fraūcis, of vvhich the childrē of my L. of Hartford doe make their clayme: & Elenore by vvhom the issue of the Earle of Darbie pretēdeth right, as I halbe declared. For that Fraūcis the first daughter of Charles Brandon by the Quene of Fraunce, vvas married to the Marques of Dorset, vvhom after Charles Brāndons death vvas made Duke of Suffolk in right of his vvife, and vvas beheaded in Q. Maries time, for his conspiracie vvvth my L. of Leycesters father. And she had by this man three daughters; that is, Iane, that vvas married to my L. of Leycesters brother, & proclaimed Queene after king Edvvards death, for vvhych both shee and her husbāde vvēre executed: Katherine the second daughter, vvho had tvvoe sonnes, yet lyuyng, by the Earle of Hartford: & Marie the third daughter, vvwhich left no children.

The other daughter of Charles Brandon by the Q. of Fraūce caled Elenor, vvas married to ^{Henry} George Clifford Earle of Cumberlād, vvho left a daughter by her named Margaret, married to the Earle of Darbye, vvwhich yet liueth & hath issue. And this is the title of al the house of Suffolk, descended frō the second daughter of K. Henrie the seventh, married (as hath bene shewed) to Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk. And by this, you see also how manie their be, vvho do thinck ther titles to be far before that of my Lord of Huntingtons, if

either right, Law, reason, or consideration of home affaires may take place in our Realm: or yf not, yet you cannot but imagine how manie great Princes and potentates abroad, are like to ioyne and buckle vvyth Huntingtons Line for the preeminence: if once the matter fall againe to cōtention by excluding the Line of K. Henry the 7. vvhich God forbid.

Trulie Sir (quoth I) I vvel perceyue that my Lords turne is not so nighe as I had thought, vvhether he exclude the Line of king Henrie, or no. For if he exclude that, then must he enter the Cumbat vvyth forraine titlers of the house of Lancaster: and if he exclude it not, then in al apparence of reason & in Lawe to (as you haue said) the succession of the twoe daughters of king Henrie the seuenth (vvhich you distingvvishe by the twoe names of Scotland and Suffolke) muste needes be as clearlie before him and his Line, that descendeth onlie from Edvard the fourth his brother: as the Q. title that nowv raigneth is before him. For that both Scotland, Suffolke, and her Ma. do hold al by one foundation, vvhich is, the vnion of both houses and titles together, in K. Henry the seuenth her Ma. Graundfather.

SCHOL.

Hūting
behinde
manie
other
titles.

That is true (quoth the Gentleman) and euident enough in euery mans eye: and therefore no doubt, but that as much is meant against her Maiestie yf occasion serue, as against the rest that holde by the same title. Albeit her Maiesties state (the Lorde be praysed) be such at this tyme, as it is not safitie to pretend so much against her, as against the reste, vvhich soeuer be meant. And that in

GENTL.

The pol-
licie of
the Con-
spirators
for the de-
ceyuing
of her
Maieſty.

trueth, more ſhould be meante gainſt her highnes,
then againſt all the reſt, ther is this reaſon: for that
her Maieſtie by her preſent poſſeſſion letterth
more their deſires, then al the reſt together vvyth
ther future pretences. But as I haue ſaid, it is not
ſafitie for them, nor yet good policie to declare
openlie, vwhat they meane againſt her maieſtie: It
is the beſt vway for the preſent, to heve down
the reſt, and to leaue her Maieſtie, for the laſte
blowve and vpschoote to their game. For vvhich
cauſe, they vvill ſeeme to make great difference
at this daye, betvvene her Maieſties title, and the
reſt, that deſcende in likevvife, from king Henric
the ſcuenth: auovving the one, and diſalovving the
other. Albeit, my Lord of Leyceſters father, pre-
ferred that of Suffolk, vvhen tyme vvas, before
this of her Ma. and compelled the vvhole Realm
to ſvveare therunto. Such is the variable pollicy of
men, that ſerve the tyme, or rather, that ſerve them-
ſelues, of al tymes, for their purpoſes.

SCHOL.

Leyceſter
variabi-
litie.

I remember (quoth I) that tyme of the Duke,
& vvas preſent my ſelf, at ſome of his proclamatiōs
for that purpoſe. VVherin my L. his ſonne that
novv liueth, being the doer, (as I can tel he vvas:)
I meruaile how he can deale ſo contrarie novv:
preferring not onlie her Ma. title before that of
Suffolk (vvherof I vvonder leſſe be cauſe it is more
gainful to him,) but alſo an other much further of.
But you haue ſignified the cauſe, in that the tymes
are chaūged, & other bargaines are in hād of more
importaunce for him. VVherfore leauing this to be
conſidered by others, vvho it cōcerneth, I beſeech
you, Sir, (for that I knowv, your vvorſhip hath bene

much conuersant amonge their friendes and fauourers) to tel me vvhat are the barres and lettres vvwhich they do aleadge, vvwhy the house of Scotlād and Suffolk descending of K. Henrie the seuēth his daughters, should not succed in the Crovvn of England after her Ma. vvho enderth the Line of the same K. by his sonne: for in my sight the matter appeareth verie plaine.

They vvant not pretences of barres and lettres against them al (quoth the Gentleman) vvwhich I vvill lay dovvn in order, as I haue heard thē aleaged. First in the Line of Scotland there are thre persōs as you knowv that may pretende right; that is, the Quene and her sonne by the first mariage of Margaret, and Arbella by the second. And against the first mariage I heare nothing affirmed: but against the tvvōe personnes procceding therof, I heare them aleage three stops: one, for that they are straūgers borne out of the land, and consequentlie incapable of inheritaunce vvwith in the same: another, for that by a special testament of K. Hérie the eight, authorized by tvvōe seuerall Parliamētes they are excluded: the third, for that they are enemies to the religion novv receiued amonge vs, & therefore to be debarred.

Against the seconde mariage of Margaret vvwith Archibalde Douglas, vvherof Arbella is descended, they aleage, that the said Archibalde had a former vvwyfe at the tyme of that mariage, vvwhich liued lōg after; and so neither that marage lawvful, nor the issue therof legitimate.

The same barre they haue against al the house and

GENTL.

Barres pretended gainst the claime of Scotland & Suffolk

Against the Quene of Scotland & her sonne.

Against Arbella.

Against
Darbye.

Against
the chil-
dren of
Hartford

Line of Suffolk: for first they say, that Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk, had a knowven wyfe a liue vwhen he married Marie Queene of Fraunce, & consequentlie, that neither the Ladie Fraunces nor Elenore, borne of that mariage, can be lawfullie borne. And thes is al, I can heare them say against the succession of the Countesse of Darby, descended of Elenore. But against my Lord of Hartfords children, that come from Fraunces the eldest daughter, I heare them alleage two or three bastardies more, besides this of the first mariage. For first, they affirme that Hérie Marques Dorset, vwhen he married the Ladie Fraunces, had to wyfe the olde Earle of Arundels sister, vwho liued both then and manie years after, and had a prouision out of his liuing, to her dying day: vwhereby that mariage could no way be good. Secondlie, that the Ladie Katherin daughter to the said Lady Fraunces, by the Marques (by vvhom the Earle of Hartford had his children) vvas lawfullie married to the Earle of Penbrook that now liueth, and consequentlie, could haue no lawfull issue by anie other during his life. Thirdlie, that the said Katherin vvas neuer lawfullie married to the said Earle of Hartford, but bare him thos childre as his Concubine. VWhich (as they say) is defined and registred in the Archbissshop or Caturburies Court, vpon due examination taken by order of her Ma. that now reigneth, and this is in effect so much as I haue heard them alleage, about thes affaires.

SCHOL.

It is much (quoth I) that you haue said, if it may be al proued. Marie yet by the way, I cannot but smile, to heare my Lord of Leycester alouue of so manie bastardies now vpon the issue of Ladie

Fraunces, vvhom in tyme paste, vvhē lane her eldest daughter vvas married to his brother, he aduanced in legitimation before both the daughters of K. Henrie the eight. But to the purpose: I vvould gladiē knowv vvhat groundes of veritie thes alegations haue, and hovv, far in trueth they may stoppe from inheritance: for indeed I neuer heard them so distinctlie aleaged before.

Leicester
dealing
vvith the
house of
suffolk.

VVherto ansvvered the Gentleman, that our friend the Lavvier could best resolve that, if it pleased him to speak vvithout his fee: though in some points aleaged, euerie other man (quoth he) that knowveth the state and common gouernment of England, may easily giue his iudgement also. As in the case of Bastardie, if the matter may be proued, ther is no difficultie, but that no right to inheritance can iustlie be pretended: as also (perhaps) in the case of forreine birth, though in this I am not so cunning: but yet I see by experience, that forreiners borne in other landes, can hardlie come and claime inheritance in England, albeit, to the contrarie, I haue heard great and long disputes, but such as indeed passed my capacitie. And if it might please our friēd here present, to expound the thing vnto vs more clearly: I for my parte vvould gladiē bestovv the hearing, and that vvith attention.

GENTL.

Bastardy.

Forreine
byrth.

To this ansvvered the Lavvier. I vvil gladiē, Sir, tel you my mind in anie thīg that it shal please you demaund: & much more in this matter vvherin by occasiō of oftē cōference, I am somevvhat perfect.

LAVV.

The impedimētes vvich thes men aleage against the succession of K. Henrie the 8. his sisters, are of tvvo kindes, as you see: The one knowven and

Bastardies, laudful stops.

alowed in our law, as you haue vvel said, if it may be proued: and that is bastardie: vvhetherby they seek to disable al the vvhole Line and race of Suffolke: as also Arbella, of the second and later house of Scotlād. VVherof, it is to smal purpose to speak any thing here: seing the vvhole controuerſie stādeth vpon a matter of fact onlie, to be proued or improved by recordes and vvitnesses. Onlie this I vvil say, that some of theſe bastardies, before named, are riſe in manie mens mouthes, & auowed by diuers that yet liue: but let other men loke to this, vvho haue moſte interest therein, and may be moſte damaged by them, if they fal out true.

The impediments againſt Scotland three in number.

The other impedimentes, vvwhich are aleaged onlie againſt the Q of Scottes and her ſonne, are in number three, as you recite them: that is, forreine birth, K Henries Teſtamēt, and religion: vvherof I am contente to ſay ſomevvhat, ſeing you deſire it: albeit ther be ſo much publiſhed alreedy in bokes of diuers languages beyond the ſea, as I am enformed, concerning this matter, as more cannot be ſaid. But yet ſo much as I haue heard paſſe among Lavvyers, my betters, in conference of theſe affaires: I vvil not let to recite vnto you, vvith this Prouiſo and proteſtation alvvayes, that vvhat I ſpeake, I ſpeak by vvay of recital of other mens opinions: not meaning my ſelf to incurre the ſtatute of affirming or auowing any perſons title to the Crowne, vvhat ſoeuer.

A proteſtation.

Touching the firſt impediment of forrayne byrthe.

Fiſt then touching forreine birth, ther be ſome men in the vvorld that vvil ſay, that it is a common and general rule of our law, that no ſtraunger at al may inherit anie thing, by anie meanes, vvithin the

lād: vvhich in tructh I take to be spoken vvithout ground, in that general sense. For I could neuer yet come to the sight of anie such common or vniuersal rule: and I knowv, that diuers examples may be alleaged in sundrie cases to the contrarie: and by that, vvhich is expresse set dovvne in the seuenth and ninthe yeares of K. Edvvard the fouerth, and in the eleuenth and fouertienth of Henrie the fourth, it appeareth plainlie that a straunger may purchase landes in England, as also inherite by his vvife, if he marrie an inheritrix. Vvherfore this common rule is to be restrained from that generalitie, vnto proper inheritaunce onlie: in vvhiche sense I doe easilie graunte, that our common lavv hath bene of auncient, and is at this day, that no person borne out of the aleagiaunce of the kinge of England, vvhos father and mother vv ere not of the same aleagiaunce at the tyme of his birthe, shalbe able to haue or demaunde anie heretage vvithin the same aleagiaunce, as heire to anie person. And this rule of our common lavve is gathered in the selfe same vvordes of a statute made in the 25. yeare of K. Edvvarde the thirde, vvhiche in deede is the only place of effecte, that can be aleaged out of our lavve against the inheritaunce of straungers in suche sense and cases, as vve novv treat of.

And albeit novv the cōmon lavv of our countrie, do runne thus in general, yet vvil the friends of the Scottishe clayme affirme, that hereby that title is nothing let or hindered at al tovwards the Crovvn: and that for diuers manifest and vveighty reasons: vvherof the principal are thes vvhich ensue.

An Alien
may purchase.

The true
Maxima
against
Aliens.

The statute of K.
Edvvard
vvhence
the Maxima is
gathered

Reasons
vvhy the
Scottishe
title is
not leted
by the
Maxima
Against
Aliens.

The first
reason.

First it is common, and a general rule of our English lawes, that no rule, Axiome, or Maxima of law (be it neuer so general) can touche or binde the Crowne, except expresse mention be made thereof, in the same: for that the king and Crowne haue great preuiledge and prerogatiue, aboue the state and affayres of subiectes, and great differences allowed in pointes of law.

The rule
of thirds.

As for example, it is a general and common rule of law, that the wyfe after the decease of her husband, shal enioy the thyrd of his landes: but yet the Queene shal not enioye the third parte of the Crowne, after the kings death: as wel appeareth by experience, and is to be seene by law, Anno. 5. & 21. of Edvard the third: and Anno. 9. & 28. of Henrie the sixte. Also it is a common rule, that the husband shal hold his wyues lands after her death, as tennaunt by courtesie duringe his life, but yet it holdeth not in a kingdom.

Tennant
by cour-
tesie.

Diuision
among
daugh-
ters.

In like maner, it is a general and common rule, that if a man die seased of lād in fee simple, hauing daughters and no sonne: his landes shalbe deuided by equal portions among his daughters: vvhich holdeth not in the Crowne: but rather the eldest daughter inheriteth the vvhole, as if she were the issue male. So also it is a common rule of our law, that the executour shal haue al the goodes and chattel of the testatour, but yet not in the Crowne. And so in manie other cases vvhich might be recited, it is euident that the Crowne hath priuiledge aboue others, and can be subiect to no rule, be it neuer so general, except expresse mention be made thereof in the same law: as it is not in the former

Execu-
tours.

place

place and a statute alleaged : but rather to the contrarie, (as after shalbe shewved) ther is expresse exception, for the prerogative of such as descend of Royal blood.

Their second reason is, for that the demaund or title of a Crowne, cannot in true sense be comprehended vnder the vvordes of the former statute, forbidding Aliens to demaund heritage vvithin the alegiaunce of England : and that for twoe respectes. The one, for that the Crowne it self cannot be called an heritage of alegiaunce or vvithin alegiaunce, for that it is holden of no superior vpon earth, but immediatelic from God him self : the seconde, for that this statute treateth onlie and meaneth of inheritaunce by discēt, as heire to the same, (for I haue shewved before that Aliens may holde lādes by purchase vvithin our dominion) & then say they, the Crowne is a thing incorporat & descēdeth not according to the cōmon course of other priuate inheritaunces : but goeth by succession, as other incorporations do. In signe vvherof, it is euident, that albeit, the king be more fauoured in al his doinges then anie common person shalbe : yet cannot he auoide by lawv his grauntes and letters patentes by reason of his nonage (as other infantes & common heires vnder age may do,) but alvvayes be said to be of ful age in respecte of his Crowne: euen as a Prior, Person, Vicare, Deane, or other person incorporat shalbe, vvhicke cannot by anie meanes in lawv be said, to be vvithin age, in respect of their incorporations.

VVhich thing maketh an euident difference in our case, frō the meaning of the former statute:

The second reason.

The Crowne no such inheritaunce as is meant in the statute.

The Crowne a corporation.

for that a Prior, Deane, or Person, being aliens and no denizens: might alvvayes in tyme of peace, demaund landes in England in respect of their corporations, notwithstanding the sayd statute or common lawv against aliens, as apeareth by manie booke cases yet extant: as also by the statute made in the tyme of K. Richard the secōd, vvhich vvas after the foresaid statute of king Edvvard the third.

The third
reason.

The Kings
issue ex-
cepted by
name.

L. libero-
rum
F. de verb
sign.

The third reason is, for that in the former statute it selfe, of K. Edvvard, ther are excepted expressely frō this general rule *INFANTES DV ROY*, that is, the kings offspring or issue, as the vvord *INFANT* doth signifie bothe in Fraunce, Portugale, Spaine, and other countries: & as the latin vvord *liberi* (vvhich answereth the same) is taken commonlie in the Ciuil lawv. Neither may vve restraine the french vvordes of that statute *INFANTES DV ROY*, to the kings childrē onlie of the first degre (as some do, for that the barraynnes of our lāguage, doth yeld vs no other vvorde for the same,) but rather, that they are vnderstood, as vvell the nephevves and other discendants of the king or blood Royal, as his immediate children. For it vv ere both vnreasonable and ridiculous to imagine, that K. Edvvard by this statute, vvould goe about to disinherite his ovvn nephevves, yf he shoulde haue any borne of his ovvn aleagiaunce (as easilie he myghte at that tyme, his sonnes being much abroad from England, and the blacke Prince his eldest sonne hauing tvvoe children borne beyonde the seas) and consequentlie, it is apparent, that this rule of *Maxima* set dovv n against Aliens is no vvay to be

stretched against the descendantes of the king or of the blood Royal.

Their fourth reason is, that the meaning of king Edvard and his children (liuing at such tyme as this statute vvas made) could not be, that anie of their linage or issue might be excluded in law, from inheritaunce of their right to the Crowne, by their forreine byrth vvhersoeuer. For otherwise, it is not credible that they vwould so much haue dispersed their ovvn bloode in other countries, as they did: by giuing their daughters to straungers, and other meanes. As Leonel the kinges third sonne vvas married in Millan: and John of Gaunte the fourth sonne gaue his tvvoe daughters Phylippe and Katherine to Portugal & Castile: and his neipce Ioan to the king of Scottes: as Thomas of VVoodstock also the yongest brother, married his tvvoe dauvghters, the one, to the king of Spain, and the other, to the Duke of Brytane. VVhich no doubt (they being vvyse Princes and so neere of the bloode Royal) vwould neuer haue done: yf they had imagined that herebie their issue should haue lost al clayme and title to the Crowne of England: and therefore it is moste euident, that no such barre vvas then extante or imagined.

The
fourth
reason.
The kings
meaning

The mat-
ches of
England
vvyth for-
reyners.

Their fift reaso is, that diuers persons borne out of al English dominion and aleagiaunce, both before the conquest and sithence, haue bene admitted to the succession of oure Crowne, as lawfull inheritours, vvythoute anie exception againste them for theyr forreine byrthe. As before the

The fift
reason.
Examples
of for-
reiners.
admitted

Flores
hist. An.
1066.

conquest is euident in yong Edgar Etheling borne in Hungarie, and thence called home to inherit the Crowne, by his great vncle king Edvard the Confessor, vvith ful consent of the vvhole Realm, the Bishop of VVorcester being sent as Ambassador to fetch him home, vvith his father named Edvard the ovvtlavve.

Pol.lib. 15
Flor.hist.
1208.

Kinge
Iohn a
Tyraunt.

And since the conquest, it appeareth plainlie in kinge Stephen and kinge Henrie the seconde, bothe of them borne out of English dominions, and of Parentes, that at their birth, vvere not of the English alleagiaunce: and yet vvere they both admitted to the Crowne. Yonge Arthure also Duke of Bretaigne by his mother Constance that matched vvith Geffray K. Henrie the secondes sonne, vvvas declared by K. Richard his vncle, at his departure tovvardes Ierusalem, and by the vvhole Realm, for lavvfull heire apparent to the Crowne of England, though he vvere borne in Bretaigne out of English alleagiaunce, and so he vvvas taken and adiudged by all the vvorlde at that day: albeit after king Richards death, his other vncle Iohn, moste Tyrannouslie toke both his kingdome and his lyfe from him. For vvich notable iniustice he vvvas detested of all men both abroad & at home: and most apparentlie scourged by God, vvith grievous and manifolde plagues, both vppon him selfe and vppon the Realme vvich yeelded to his vsurpation. So that by this also it appeareth, vvhat the practize of our countrie hath bene from tyme to tyme in this case of forreine birth: vvich practize is the best interpreter of our common English lavv: vvich depen-

deth especialie and moſte of al vpon cuſtome: nor can the aduerſarie aleage anie one example to the contrarie.

Their ſixt, is of the iudgement and ſentence of K. Henrie the ſeuēth, and of his Councell: vvho being together in conſultation, at a certaine tyme, about the mariage of Margaret his eldeſt daughter into Scotland: ſome of his Councell moued this doubt, vvhat ſhould enſue, if by chaunce the kinges iſſue male ſhould faile, and ſo the ſucceſſion deuolue to the heires of the ſaid Margaret as nowv it doth? VVherunto that vvife and moſte prudent Prince made anſvvere: that if anie ſuch euent ſhould be, it could not be preiudicial to England, being the bigger parte, but rather beneficial: for that it ſhould dravve Scotland to Englād: that is, the leſſer to the more: euen as in tymes paſte it hapened in Normandie, Aquitane, and ſome other Prouinces. VVhich anſvvere apeaſed all doubtēs, and gaue ſingular contention to thes of his Councell, as Polidore vvriteth that liued at that tyme, and vvrote the ſpecial matters of that reigne, by the kinges ovvn inſtruction. So that hereby vve ſee no queſtion made of K. Henrie or his Councellours to vvching forreine birth, to let the ſucceſſion of Ladie Margarets iſſue: vvhich no doubt vvould neuer haue bene omitted in that learned aſſembly, if anie lavv at that tyme had bene eſtemed or imagined to barre the ſame

And thes are fixe of their principaleſt reaſons, to proue, that neither by the vvordes nor meaning of our common lavves, nor yet by cuſtom or praetize of our Realm, an Alien may be debarred frō claime

The se-
uenth re-
ason.

The Q
of Scot.
and her
sonne no
Aliens.

of his interest to the Crowne, vvhhen it falleth to him by rightful discent in blood and successiō. But in the particular case of the Q. of Scottes and her sonne, they do ad another reason or tvvo: therby to proue thē in verie deed to be no Aliens. Not only in respect of their often & cōtinual mixture vvith English blood frō the beginning (and especialie of late, the Q. Graūdmother & husbād being English, & so her sonne begoten of an English father) but also for tvvo other causes & reasōs, vvwhich seme in trueth of verie good importaunce.

The first is, for that Scotland by al English men (hovv so euer the Scottes denie the same) is taken & holdē as subiect to Englād by vvay of Homage: vvwhich manie of their kinges, at diuers tymes haue acknowvleged: & cōsequētlie, the Q. and her sonne being borne in Scotland, are not borne out of the aleagiaunce of England, and so no forreyners.

The second cause or reason is, for that the forenamed statute of forreyners in the fyue and tvventie yeare of K. Edvvard the third, is intituled *of those that are borne beyond the seas*. And in the bodie of the same statute, the doubt is moued of children borne out of English aleagiaunce beyond the seas: vvherby cannot be vnderstood Scotlād, for that it is a pecce of the cōtinent land vvithin the seas. And al our olde recordes in England, that talke of seruice to be done vvithin thes tvvo countries: haue vsualy thes latin vvordes *infra quatuor Maria*, or in frensh, *deins lez quatre mers*, that is, vvithin the foure seas: vvherby must needes be vnderstood as vvell Scot-

land as England, and that perhapes for the reason before mentioned, of the subiectiō of Scotland by vway of Homage to the Crovvn of England. In respect vvhherof it may be, that it vvas accompted of olde, but one dominion or aleagiaunge. And consequently, no man borne therin can be accompted an Alien to England. And this shal suffice for the first point, touching forreine Natiuitie.

For the secōd impedimēt obiected, vvhich is the Testamēt of K. Hērie the eight, authorized by parliamēt, vvhherby they affirme the successiō of Scotland to be excluded: it is not precisely true that they are excluded, but only that they are put back behīd the succession of the house of Suffolk. For in that pretended Testamēt (vvhich after shalbe proued to be none indeed) king Henrie so disposeth, that after his ovvn children (if they should chaunce to die vvithout issue) the Crovvn shal passe to the heirs of Fraunces, and of Elenore his neipces by his yonger sister Marie Q. of Fraunce: and after them (deceasing also vvithout issue) the succession to returne to the next heires againe. VVherby it is euīdēt that the successiō of Margaret Q. of Scotlād his eldest sister, is not excluded: but thrust back only frō their due place and order, to expect the remainder, vvhich may in tyme be left by the yonger. VVherof in mine opinion do ensue some considerations against the present pretenders them selues.

First, that in K. Henries iudgement, the former pretended rule of forreine birth, vvas no sufficient impedimēt against Scotlād: for if it had bene, no doubt but that he vvould haue named the same in his aleaged Testament, and therby haue vtterlie excluded that succession. But there is no such

The second impediment against the Q. of Scot. and her sonne vvhich is K. Hērie the eight his Testament.

Forreine birth: no impediment in the iudgement of K. Henry the eight

thing in the Testament.

The suc-
cession of
Scotland
nexte by
the iudg-
ment of
the cōpe-
titours.

Secondlie, yf they admit this Testament, vvhich alloteth the Crowne to Scotland next after Suffolk: then, seing that al the house of Suffolk, (by the mens assertion) is cexcluded by Bastardie; it must needes folovv, that Scotland by their ovvn iudgement is next, and so this testament vvil make against them, as indeed it doth in al pointes moste apparentlie, but onelie that it preferreth the house of Suffolk, before that of Scotland. And therefore I think (Sir) that you mistake somvvhat about their opinion in aleaging this Testament. For I suppose, that no man of my Lord of Huntingtons faction, vvil aleage or vrge the testimonie of this Testament: but rather some friend of the house of Suffolk in vvhos fauour, I take it, that it vvvas first of al forged.

GENTL.

It may be (quoth the Gentleman) nor vvil I stand obstinatlie in the cōtrarie: for that it is hard, sometyme, to iudge of vvhat faction eche one is, vvho discourseth of thes affaires. But yet I marvail (yf it vvwere as you say) vvhie Leycesters father after king Edvvardes death, made no mention therof in the fauour of Suffolk, in the other Testament vvhych then he proclaymed, as made by K. Edvvard deceased, for prefermēt of Suffolk before his ovvne sisters?

LAVV.
The Duk
of Nor-
thumbe-
landes
drift.

The cause of this is evident (quoth the Lavvyer) for that it made not sufficientlie for his purpose: vvch vvvas to disinherit the tvvo daughters of K. Henrie him selfe, & aduaunce the house of Suffolk before them both.

GENTL.

A notable chaunge (quoth the Gentleman) that

a title, so much exalted of late by the father, aboue
 al order, right, rank, and degre: should now be
 so much debased by the sonne, as though it were
 not worthie to hold anie degre, but rather to be
 trode vnder foote for plaine bastardie. And you see
 by this, how true it is which I tolde you before:
 that the race of Dudleys are moste cunning Mar-
 chantes, to make their gaine of al thinges, men, &
 tymes. And as we haue seene now two testamētes
 aleaged, the one of the king father, & the other of
 the king sonne, & both of them in preiudice of the
 testators true successours: so, manie good subiectes
 begin greatlie to feare, that we may chaunce to see
 shortly a third testament of her Ma. for the intitu-
 ling of Huntington and extirpation of K. Henries,
 blood, & that before her Ma. can think of sicknes:
 vherin I beseech the Lord I be no Prophet. But
 now (Sir) to the forsaide vvil & testamēt of K. Hēry,
 I haue often heard in trueth, that the thing was
 counterfeit, or at the leaste not able to be proued:
 and that it was discovered, reiected and defaced in
 Q. Maries tyme: but I would gladlie vnderstand
 what you Lavvyers esteeme or iudge therof.

The mu-
table dea-
lig of the
house of
Dudley.

Touching this matter (quoth the Lavvyer) **LAVV.**
 cannot be denied, but that in the twenty and eight
 and thirrie and sixt yeares of king Henries reigne,
 vpon consideration of some doubt & irresolution,
 vvhych the king him selfe had shevved, to haue
 about the order of succession in his ovn children,
 as also for taking avay al occasions of controuer-
 sies in thos of the next blood: the vvhole parlia-
 ment gaue authoritie vnto the said king, to debate
 & determine thos matters him self together vvyth

The au-
thoritie,
and occa-
sion of K.
Henries
testamē,

his learned councell, vvho best knew the lawes of the Realm, and titles that anie man might haue therby: and that vvhat soeuer succession his Ma. should declare as moste right and lawfull vnder his letters patentes sealed, or by his last vvill and testament rightfullie made and signed vvith his ovvn hand: that the same should be receyued for good and lawfull.

Vppon pretence vvherof, soone after K. Henries death, ther vvvas shewed a vvill vvith the kings stamp at the same, & the names of diuers vvitnesses, vvherin (as hath bene ~~bene~~ said) the succession of the Crowne, after the kings ovvn children, is assigned to the heires of Fraunces and of Elenore, neipces to the king, by his yonger sister. VVhich assignatiō of the Crowne, being as it vvwere a mere guifte in preiudice of the elder sisters right (as also of the right of Fraunces and Elenore themselves, vvho vvwere omitted in the same assignation, & their heires intituled onlie) vvvas esteemed to be against al reason, law, and nature, & consequentlie not thought to proceed from so vvise and sage a Prince, as K. Henrie vvvas knowen to be: but rather, ether the vvhole forged, or at Least vvise that clause inserted by other, and the kings stampe set vnto it, after his death, or vvhen his Ma. lay now past vnderstanding. And hereof there vvanteth not diuers moste euident reasons and proofes.

The kīgs
Testamēt
forged.

The first
reason.

Iniustice
& impro-
babilitie.

For first, it is not probable or credible that K. Henrie vvould euer go about, against law and reason, to disinherit the line of his eldest sister, vvithout anie profit or interest to him self: and therby, giue moste euident occasion of Ciuil vvarre and

discorde vvyrhin the Realm, seing, that in such a case of manifest and apparent vvrong, in so great a matter, the authoritie of parliament, taketh litle effect, against the true & lawfull inheritour: as vvel appeared in the former tymes & contētions of Henrie the sixt, Edvvard the fourth, and Richard the third: in vvhose reignes, the diuers and contrarie parliamētes made and holden, against the next inheritour, held no longer vvyth anie man, then vntil the other vvas able to make his ovvn partie good.

So Likevvise, in the case of king Edvvard the third his succession to Fraunce, in the right of his mother, though he vvēre excluded by the general assemblie and consent of their parliamētes: yet he esteemed not his right extinguished therby: as neither did other kinges of our countrie that ensued after him. And for our present case, yf nothing els shoulde haue restreyned king Henrie, from such open iniustice tovvardes his eldest sister: yet this cogitation, at least, vvould haue stayed him: that by geuing example of supplanting his elder Sisters Line by vertue of a testament or pretence of parliament: some other might take occasion to displace his children by like pretence: as vve see that Duke Dudley did soone after, by a forged testament of K. Edvvard the sixt. So redie Scholars ther are to be found, vvch easilie vvil learne such Lessons of iniquitie.

The example of
Fraunce.

Secondlye, ther be to manye incongruities and indignities in the sayd pretended VVyll to proceed from suche a Prince and learned Councell

The secōd
reason.

Incōgruities & indignities.

as king Héries vvas. For first vvhat can be more ridiculous, then to giue the Crovvv vnto the heires of Fraunces and Elenore, and not to anie of them selues? or vvhat had they offended that their heires should enioye the Crovvv in their right, and not they them selues? VVhat yf king Henries children should haue died, vvholes Ladie Fraunces had bene yet a liue? vvho should haue possessed the kingdō before her, seing her Line vvas next? and yet by this testament she could not pretēd her self to obteine it. But rather hauing married Adrian Stokes her horskeper, she must haue suffred her sonne by him (yf she had anie) to enioy the Crovvv: and so Adriā of a seruing-man and master of horses, should haue become the Great Master & Protector of Englād. Of like absurditie is that other clause also, vvherin the king bindeth his ovvn daughters to marrie, by cōsent & directiō of his counsell, or othervvise to leese the benefit of their succession: but yet bindeth not his neipces daughters, to vvit, the daughters of Frauncis and Elenor (if that they had any) to any such condition.

Adrian
Stokes.

The third
reason.
The pre-
supposed
vvil is not
Authen-
tical.

Thirddie ther may be diuers causes and argu-
mentes aleaged in lavve, vvhy this pretēded vvil is
not authentical: if othervvise, it vvēre certaine that
king Henrie had meant it: First, for that it is not a-
greable to the minde and meaning of the Parlia-
ment, vvwhich intended onlie to giue authoritie, for
declaration and explication of the true title: & not
for donation or intricating of the same, to the ruin
of the Realm. Secōdly, for that ther is no lavvful &
Authentical Copie extant therof, but onlie a bare
inrolment in the Chauncerie, vvwhich is not suffi-

cient in so vveightie an affaire: no vvitness of the Priuie Councel or of Nobilitie to the same: vvwhich had bene conuenient in so great a case (for the best of the vvitnesses therin named, is Sir Iohn Gates, vvhos miserable death is vvell knowvve:) no publike Notarie: no Probation of the vvil before anye Bishop, or anie lawvful Court for that purpose: no examination of the vvitnesses, or other thing orderlie done, for lawvful authorizing of the matter.

But of al other thinges this is moſte of importance: that the king neuer ſet his ovvn hande to the foreſaid vvil, but his ſtamp vvvas put therunto by others, either after his death, or vvhen he vvvas paſte remembrance: as the late L. Paget in the beginning of Quene Maries dayes, being of the priuy Councel, firſt of al other diſcouered the ſame, of his ovvn accorde, and vpon mere motion of conſciēce, confeſſing before the vvhole Councel, and afterward alſo before the vvhole parliament, hovv that him ſelf vvvas priuie therunto, and partlie alſo culpable, (being draVVen therunto, by the inſtigation and forcible authoritie of others:) but yet afterward vpon other more godlie motions deteſted the deuice: and ſo of his ovvn free vvil, verie honorable vvvent and offered the diſcouerie therof to the Councel. As alſo did Sir Edvvard Montague, Lord chiefe iuſtice, that had bene priuie and preſent at the ſaid doinges, and one VVillm. Clark, that vvvas the man vvho put the ſtamp vnto the paper, and is aſcribed among the other pretended vvitnesses, confeſſed the vvhole premiſſes to be true, & purchaſed his pardō for his offence therin. VVher vpon Q. Marie and her Councel, cauſed preſentlie

The diſ-
prouing
of the vvil
by vvit-
neſſes.

The Lord
Pagett.

Sir Edvv.
Mōtague

VVillm.
Clarcke.

the said inrolment, lying in the Chauncerie, to be canceled, defaced and abolished,

A meeting
together
about
this mat-
ter of the
nobility.

My L. of
Leycester
agayne
playeth
double.

And since that tyme in her Ma. dayes that now lieth about the 11. or 12. year e of her reign, (if I compt not amisse) by occasion of a certen litle booke spred abroad at that tyme, verie secretlie, for aduancing of the house of Suffolk, by pretence of this testament: I remember vvel the place vvhether the late Duke of Norfolke, the Marques of VVinchester (vvhich then vvas Treasurer) the olde Earls of Arundell and Penbrooke that now are dead, vvyth my L. of Penbrooke that yet lieth, (as also my L. of Leicester hī self if I be not deceyued) vvyth diuers others, met together vpon this matter: & after long conferēce about the foresaid pretended vvil, & manie proffes & reasons layd down, vwhy it could not be true or authētical: the olde Earle of Pēbrook protesting that he vvas vvyth the K. in his Chāber frō the first day of his sicknes vnto his last houre, & therby could vvel assure the falsificatiō therof: at length it vvas moued, that from that place they should go, vvyth the rest of the nobilitie, and proclaim the Q. of Scotland heire aparent in Cheapside. VVherin my L. of Leycester (as I tak it) vvas the as forvard as anie man els: how be it, now, for his profit, he bee turned aside, and vould turne back againe to morovv next, for a greater commoditie.

And albeit, for some causes to them selues best knowvē, they proceeded not in the opē publishig of their determination at that time: yet my Lord of Penbrook now living, can beare vvitness that thus

much is true: and that his father the olde Earle at that tyme, tolde him openlie before the other noble men, that he had brought him to that assemblie and place, to instruct him in that trueth, and to charge him, to vvitnes the same, and to defende it also, vvyth his svvorde (if need required) after his death. And I knowve that his Lordship is of that honour and nobilitie, as he can not leaue of easilie the remembraunce or due regarde of so vvorthie an admonition. And this shal suffice for the second impediment, imagined to proceed of this supposed testament of king Henrie the eight.

The olde Earle of Pembroks admonition, to the Earle his sonne yet liuīg.

As for the third impediment, of religion, it is not general to al: for that onlie one person (if I be not deceyued) of al the Competitours in K. Hērys line, can be touched vvyth suspition of different religiō, from the present state of England. VVhich person not vvythstanding (as is vvell knowven) vvwhile she vvas in gouernmēt in her ovvn Realm of Scotlād, permitted al libertie of conscience, & free excercise of religion, to thos of the contrarie profession and opiniō, vvythout restreynt. And yf she had not: yet do I not see, either by prescript of lavv, or practize of thes our times, that diuersitie of religiō, may stay iust inheritours from enioying their due possessiōs, in anie state or degre of priuate men: and much lesse in the clayme of a kingdom: vvwhich alvvayes in this behalf (as hath bene said before) is preferred in priuilege.

The third impediment of Religiō.

This vve see by experience, in diuers countries and partes of the vvorld at this daye: as in Germanie, vvhere among so manie Princes, and so de

Princes of Germanye.

uited in religiō as they be: yet euerie one succedeth to the state, vvherto he hath right, vvythout resistance for his religion. The examples also of her

Q. Mary.
Q. Eliza-
beth.

Ma. that novv is, and of her sister before, is euident: vvhich being knowven to be of tivo different inclinations in religion, and the vvhole Realm deuided in opinion for the same cause: yet both of them at their feuerall tymes vvyth general consent of all, vvere admitted to their lawfull inheritaunce: excepting onlie a fewv* traytours against the former,

* The
Dudleys.
Mōsieur.

vvhich vvythstood her right as also in her, the right of her Ma. that is present, & that not for religion (as appeared by their ovvn confession after) but for ambition and desire of reigne. Monsieur, the kings brother and heire of Fraunce, as all the vvhorld knowveth, is vvell accepted, fauored and admitted for successoure of that Crowne, by all the protestantes at this day of that Countrie, not vvythstanding his opinion in religion knowven to be different. And I doubt not, but the king of Nauarre or Prince of Condie, in the contrarie parte, vvould

King of
Nauarre.
Prince of
Condy.

think them selues greatlie iniured by the state of Fraunce, vvvhich is different from them in religion at this day, if after the death of the king that novv is & his brother vvithout issue, (yf God so dispose) they should be barred frō inheriting the Crowne, vnder pretence onlie of their religion. My Lord of Huntingtō him self also, is he not knowvē to be of a different religiō from the present state of Englād? and that, yf he vvere king to morovve next, he vvould alter the vvhole gouernment, order, condition, & state of religion, novv vsed & estblisshed, vvythin the Realm?

My L. of
Hunting
tons reli-
gion.

But as I said in the beginning, yf one of a vyhole familie, or of diuers families, be culpable, or to be touched herein: vvhathauē the rest offēded therby? vvil you exclude al, for the mislike of one? And to descend in order: yf the first in K. Henries line, after her Ma. may be touched in this point, yet, vwhy should the rest be damnified therby? The king of Scotland her sonne, that next ensueth (to speake in equitie) vvhie should he be shut out for his religion? And are not al the other in like maner protestantes, vvhos discent is consequent, by nature, order and degre?

The title of thos vvhiche enserue the Q. of Scottes.

For the yong king of Scotland (quoth I) the truth is, that alvvayes for mine ovvn parte, I haue had great hope and expectation of him, not onlie for the conceipt vvhich commonlie men haue of such Orient youthes, borne to kingdomes: but especialie for that I vnderstod frō tyme to tyme, that his educatiō vvas in al learning, prīcelie exercises & instruction of true religiō, vnder rare and vertuous men for that purpose. VVherby I conceyued hope, that he might not onelie become in tyme, an honorable and profitable neighbour vnto vs, for assurance of the ghospel in thes partes of the vworld: but also (yf God should depriue vs of her Maiesty vvhithout issue) might be a meane by his succssion to vnite in Concord and Gouvernment, the tvvoe Realmes together, vvhich heretofore hath bene fought, by the price of manie a thousand mens blood, and not obteyned.

The yōg king of Scotland

Marie yet novv of late (I knowv not by vvhath meanes) ther is begon in mens hartes a certaine mislike or grudge against him, for that it is giuen

out euerie vvhether, that he is inclyned to be a Papist, & an enimie to her Ma. proceedinges. VVhich argueth him verelie, of singular ingratitude, if it be true, considering the great helpes and protection vvhich he hath receyued from her highnes euer sithence he vvas borne.

GENTL.

And are you so simple (quoth the Gentleman) as to beleue euerie report that you heare of this matter? knowv you not, that it is expedient for my L. of Leycester and his factiō, that this youth, aboue al other, be held in perpetual disgrace vvyth her Ma. and vvyth this Realm? You knowv, that Richard of Glocester had neuer bene able to haue vsurped as he did, if he had not first persvaded kīg Edvard the foverth to hate his ovvn brother the Duke of Clarence, vvhich Duke stood in the vwaye, betvvē Richard and the thing, vvhich he moſte of al thinges coueted. That is, the poſſibility to the Crovvn, and ſo in this caſe is ther the lyke deuiſe to be obſerved.

The de-
viſe to ſet
out her
Ma vvyth
the yong
king of
Scotlād.

For truelie, for the yong king of Scotlands religion, it is euident to as manie as haue reaſon, that it cā be no other of it ſelf but inclined to the beſt: both in reſpect of his education, inſtruction, & cōuerſation, vvyth thoſe of true religion: as alſo by his former Actiōs, Ediſtes, Gouvernment, and priuate behauiour, he hath declared. Marie theſe men vvhoſe profit is nothing leſſe, then that he or any other of that race ſhould do vvell: do not ceaſe daylie by al ſecrete vvayes, driftes, and moleſtations poſſible, to driue him either to miſlike of our religion, or elſe to incur the ſuſpitiō therof, vvyth ſuch of our Realm, as othervvayſe vvould be his beſt friendes: or if not

this: yet for verie need & feare of his ovvn lyfe, to make recourse to such other Princes abroad, as may most offend or mislik this state.

And for this cause, they suborne certayne busie felovves of their ovvn crevv and faction, perreyning to the ministerie of Scotland, (but vnvvorthy of so vvorthie a calig) to vse such insolēcy tovvards their king and Prince, as is not onlie vndecent, but intollerable. For he may do no thing, but they vvill examin and discusse the same in pulpit. If he go but on hunting, vvhen it pleaseth them to cal him to their preaching: if he make but a dinner or supper, vvhen, or vvhere, or vvith vvhom they like not: if he receiue but a coople of horses or other pretēt frō his friendes or kinsmen beyond the seas: yf he salute or vse courteouslie anie mā or melliger vvhich cōmeth from them, (as you know Princes of their nobilitie & courtisie are accustomed, though they come frō their enemies, as often hath bene scene & highlie commended in her Ma. of England:) yf he deale familiarlie vvith anie Ambassadour vvhich liketh not them: or finalie if he do say, or signifie, any one thing vvhatsoever, that pleaseth not their humour: they vvill presentlie, as seditious tribunes of the people, exclaime in publique, and stepping to the pulpit vvher the vvord of the Lord only ought to be preached: vvill excite the commonaltie to discontentation, inveying against their souerain vvith such bitternes of speech, vnreuerend tearmes, and insolēt controlmentes, as is not to be spokē. Now imagine vvhat her Ma. & her graue coucell vvould do in England, if such procedinges should be vled, by the cleargie against them.

The intolerable proceedings of certayne Ministers in Scotland against theyr kīg. by subornation of hys crymes in England.

STHOL.

Sir Patrik
Adamson
Archbi
shop of
S. An-
drewes.

No doubt (quoth I) but that suche vnquiet spi-rites should be punished in our Realm. And so I said of late to their moste Reuerend and vvorthe Prelat & Primat the Archbissshop of S. Andrewes, vvith vvhom it vvas my Luck to come acquainted in London, vvwhether he vvas come by his kings apointment (as he said) to treat certain affaires vvith our Quene and Councell. And talking vvith him of this disorder of his Ministerie, he confessed the same vvith much greife of minde, & tolde me, that he had preached therof before the king himself, detesting and accusing diuers heades therof, for vvwhich cause, he vvas become verie odious to them and other of their faction, both in Scotland & Englād. But he said, that as he had giuen the reasons of his doinges vnto our Quene: so meaneth he shortly to do the same vnto Monsieur Beza and to the vvhole church of Geneva, by sending thither the articles of his and their doinges, Protesting vnto me that the proceedinges and attemptes of thos factious and corrupt men, vvas moste scandalous, seditious and perilous, both to the kinges person, and to the Realm: being sufficient indeed, to alienate vvholie the yong Prince from al affection to our religion, vvhen he shal see the chiefe professours therof, to behaue them selues so vvduetifulie tovwards him.

GENTL.

Treasons
Plotted
Against
the K. of
Scottes.

That is the thing vvwhich thes men, his competitors, moste desire (quoth the Gentleman) hoping therby, to procure him moste euil vvil & daunger, both at home & frō Englād. For vvwhich cause also, they haue practized so manie plotes & treacheries vvith his ovvn subiectes against him: hoping by

that meanes, to bring the one in distrust and hatred of the other, and consequentlie the king in daunger of destruction by his ovvn. And in this machination, they haue behaued them selues so dextrouslie, so couertlie vsed the manage and cōtriuing herof, and so cunninglye conueied the execution of many thinges: as it might, indeed, seme aparent vnto the yong king, that the vvhole plot of treasons against his Realm & person, doth come from England, therby to driue him into ielousie of our state, & our state of him: and al this for their ovvn profit.

Neither is this anie nev v device of my Lord of Leycester, to dravv men for his ovvn gaine, into daunger & hatred vvith the state, vnder other pretences. For I could tel you diuers stories and stratagemes of his cunning in this kinde, and the one far different from the other in device: but yet al to one end. I haue a friend yet liuing, that vvas tovvardes the olde Earle of Arundel, in good credit, and by that meanes had occasion to deal vvith the late Duke of Norfolke in his chieft affaires before his troubles. This mā is vvount to report straunge thinges from the Dukes ovvn mouth, of my Lord of Leycesters moste treacherous dealing tovvardes him, for gayning of his blood, as after appeared: albeit the Duke vvhen he reported the same, mistrusted not so much my Lordes malice therin. But the summe of al, is this in effect: that Leycester hauing a secret desire, to pul down the said Duke, to the end that he might haue no man aboue him selfe, to hinder him in that vvwhich he moste desireth: by a thousand cunning deuises drevv in the Duke to the

Leycester
cunning
device
for over-
throwing
the Duke
of Nor-
folke.

The impudencie
of Iudas.

cogitation of that mariage vvyth the Q. of Scotland, vvhich aftervvard vvas the cause or occasion of his ruine. And he behaued him self so dextrouslie in this drift, by setting on the Duke on the one side, and intrapping him on the other: as Iudas him self neuer played his parte more cunninglie, vvhē he supped vvyth his master, and set him self so nere, as he dipped his spoone in the same dishe, & durst before others aske, vvhō should betraye him? meaning that night, to do it him self, as he shewved soone after supper, vvhē he came as a Capitaine vvyth a band of conspiratours, and vvyth a courteous kisse deliuered his person, into the hādes of thē, vvhō he vvel knevy to thirst after his blood

The speeches of
Leices to
the D. of
Norfolk.

The very like did the Erle of Leycester vvyth the Duke of Norfolk for the arte of treason, though in the parties betrayed ther yvere great difference of innocēcie. Namely at one time, vvhē her Ma. vvas at Basing in Hampshire, & the Duke attēded ther lo haue audience, vvyth great indifferencie in him self, to folovv or leaue of, his sute for mariage: (for that novv he began to suspect, her Ma. liked not greatlie therof:) my Lord of Leicester came to him, and counsayled him in anie case to perseuere & not to relent, assuring him vvyth manie othes and protestations, that her Ma. must & should be brought to alovv therof, vvhether she vvould or no, and that him self vvould scale that purpose vvyth his blood. Neither vvas it to be suffred that her Ma. should haue her vvil hercin: vvyth manie other like speeches to this purpose: vvhich the Duke repeated againe then presentlie to my said friend: vvyth often laying his hand vpon his bosome and

saing: I haue here vvhich assureth me sufficientlie of the fidelitie of my L. of Leycester: meaning not onlie the foresaid speeches, but also diuers letters vvhich he had vvritten to the Duke of that effect, as likewise he had done to some other person of more importaunce in the Realm: vvhich matter comming aftervvard to light, he cousyned most notablie her Ma. by shewing her a reformed copie of the said letter, for the letter it self.

Ley. coun-
synage
of the
Queene.

But novv howv vvell he performed his promis, in dealing vvith her Ma. for the Duke, or against the Duke in this matter, her highnes can best tel, and the event it self shewed. For the Duke being admitted soone after to her Ma. speech, at an other place, and receyuing a far other answer then he had in hope conceyued vpon Leycester promises: retired him self to London, vvhere the same night folovving he receyued letters both from Leycester, and Syr Nicholas Throgmarton, vpon Leycesters instigation (for they vv ere at that tyme both friēdes and of a faction,) that he should presentlie flee into Norfolk as he did, vvhich vv as the last and final complement of al Leycesters former deuices, vvherby to plunge his friende ouer the eares in suspicion and disgrace, in such sorte, as he should neuer be able to dravv him self out of the ditch againe, as indeed he vv as not, but died in the same.

The
Duke of
Norfolks
flyig into
Norfolk.

And herein you see also the same subbtile & Machauilian sleight, vv which I mentioned before, of driving men to attēpt somevv hat, vvherby they may incur daunger or remaine in perpetual suspicion or disgrace. And this practize he hath long vsed, and doth daylie, against such as he hath vv il

Macha-
uillian
Sleyghes

Leycester
deuises
for the o-
uerthrow
of Syr
Christo-
pher Hat-
ton.

to destroye. As for example : VVhat say you to the deuice he had, of late, to intrap his vvel deseruing friende Sir Christopher Hatton, in the matter of Hall his Priest, vvhom he vvould haue had Sir Christopher to send avvay & hide, being touched and detected in the case of Ardent, therby to haue dravven in Sir Christopher him self, as Sir Charles Candis he can vvel declare, yf it please him, being accessarie to this plot, for the ouerthrow of Sir Christopher. To vvhich intent & moste diuelishe drift pertheyned (I doubt not) yf the matter vv ere duellie examined, the late interception of letters in Paris from one Aldred of Lyons then in Rome, to Henrie Vmpton, seruauit to Sir Christopher, in vv hich letters, Sir Christopher is reported to be of such credit and special fauour in Rome, as if he vv ere the greatest Papist in England.

Leycester
deuises a
gainst the
Earle of
Shrevvs-
burie.

VVhat meaneth also thes pernicious late dealiges against the Earle of Shrevvsburie, a man of the moste auncient and vvorthiest nobilitie of our Realm? vvhat meane the practizes vv yth his nearest both in bed and blood against him? vvhat meane thes moste false and flaunderous rumours cast abroad of late of his disloyal demeanure tovvardes her Ma. and his countrie, vv yth the great prisoner committed to his charge? Is al this to anie other end, but onlie to driue him to some impatience, and therby to cōmit or say some thing vv hich may open the gate vnto his ruyn? Diuers other thinges could I recite of his behaviour tovvardes other noble men of the Realm, vvho liue abroad in their countries much iniured & malcontented by his insolencie: albeit in respect of his present povver they dare not complaine. And surelie

it is straunge to see, how litle accompt he maketh of al the auncient nobilitie of our Realm: how he contemneth, derideth & debaseth them: vvhich is the fashion of al such as meane to vsurp, to the end they may haue none vvhich shal not acknowlege their first begīning & aduancemēt from the selues.

Ley. contempt of the auncient Nobility of Englad

Not onlie vsurpers (quoth the Lavvier) but al others vvhich rise and moue aloft frō base lynage, be ordinarilie moste cōtemptuous contumelious, and insolēt against others of more antiquitie. And this vvas euident in this mans father, vvhich being a Buck of the first head (as you know) vvas intolerable in contempt of others: as appeareth, by thos vvhom he trode down of the nobility in his tyme: as also by his ordinarie ieaistes against the Duke of Somerset and others. But among other tymes, sitting one daye at his ovvn table (as a Councillor told me that vvas present,) he toke occasion to talke of the Earle of Arundel vvhom he then had not onlie remoued from the Councell, but also put into the Towver of London, being (as is vvel known) the first and chiefest Earle of the Realm. And for that the said Earle, shewved him self somewhat sad and afflicted vvvith his present state (as I maruaile not, seing him self in prison and vvythin the compas of so fearce a Bears pawves) it pleased this goodlie Duke, to vaunt vpon this Earls miserie, at his ovvn table (as I haue said,) and asked the noble men and Gentlemen ther present, vvhich Cresse or Cognizaūce my Lord of Arundel did giue? and vvhē euerie one answered that he gaue the vvhite horse: I thought so (quoth the Duke,) and not vvythout great cause: for as the

L A V V.

New me most cōtemptuous.

D. Dudleyes ieste at the Erl. of Arūdel

vwhite Paulfrey vwhen he standeth in the stable, & is vvel prouendred, is proud and fearce, and redie to leape vpon euery other horses back, stil neying and praunsing, and troubling al that stande about him: but vwhen he is once out of his hoat stable, and de- priued a litle of his ease and fat feeding, euerie boye may ryde and master him, at his pleasure: so is it (quoth he) vvith my Lord of Arundel: VVherat manie maruailed that vv ere present, to heare so insolent speech passe from a man of iudgment, against a Peere of the Realm, cast into calamitie.

GENTL.

The worst
abiection
behaviour
of Duke
Dudley in
adverse
fortune

But you vvould more haue maruailed (quoth the Gentleman,) if you had sene that, vv which I did aftervvard, vv which vv as the moste base and abiection behauour, of the same Duke, to the same Earle of Arundel at Cambrige, and vpon the vvay tovwards London: vv when this Earle vv as sent to apprehend and bring him vp, as prisoner. Yf I should tel you hovv he fel down on his knees, hovv he vv ept, hovv he besought the said Earle, to be good Lord vnto him, vv whom a litle before, he had so much contemned and reproched: you vvould haue said, that him self might as vv el be compared to this vwhite Paulfrey, as the other. Albeit in this, I vv il excuse neither of them both, neither almoste anie other of thes great men, vv who are so proude and insolent in their prosperous fortune, as they are easily led to contemne anie man, albeit them selues be moste contemptible of al others, vv when soeuer their fortune begineth to chaunge: & so vv il my L. of Leycester be also, no doubt at that daye, though novv in his vv ealth, he triumphe ouer al, & careth not vv whom or hovv manie he offend and iniurie.

Sir therein I belieue you (quoth I) for vve haue **STHOL.**
 had sufficient trial alredie of my Lords fortitude
 in aduersitie. His base and abiect behauour in **Leycester**
 his last disgrace about his mariage, vvel declared **base be-**
 ywhat he vvould do, in a matter of more impor- **hauour**
 tance. His favvning & flattering of them, vvhom **in aduer-**
 he hated most: his seruile speeches, his feigned &
 dissembled teares, are al verie vvel knovven: Then
 Sir Christopher Hatton, must needes be inforced,
 to receiue at his handes the honorable and great
 office of Chamberlanship of Chester, for that he **Leycester**
 vvould by anie meanes resigne the same vnto him, **deceyning**
 vvwhether he vvoulde or no: and made him prouide **of Syr**
 (not vvithout his charge) to receyue the same, **Christo-**
 though his Lordship neuer meant it, as after vvel **pher Hat-**
 appeared. For that the presente pangue being **ton,**
 past, it liked my Lord to fulfil the Italian prouerbe,
 of such as in daungers make vovves to sainctes:

Scampato il pericolo, gabbato il Santo,
 the daunger escaped, the sainct is deceyued.

Then, and in that necessitie, no men of the Realm
 vvwere so much honoured, commended and serued
 by him, as the noble Chamberlane deceased, and
 the good L. Treasurer yet liuing: to vvho, at a cer-
 taine tyme, he vvrote a letter, in al fraude and base
 dissimulation, and caused the same, to be deliuered **A pretie**
 vvith great cūning in the sight of her Ma. & yet so, **histe of**
 as to shevv a purpose that it should not be seene: **my Lorde**
 to the end, her highnes might the rather take occa- **of Leyc.**
 sion to cal for the same and reade it, as she did. For
 Mistres Fraunces Havvard (to vvho the stratageme
 vvvas cōmitted) playing her parte dexterouslie, offe-
 red to deliuer the same to the L. Treasurer, nere the
 dore of the vvithdrawving chāber, he the cumming

from her Ma. And to dravv the eye and attentio of her highnes, the more vnto it, ſhe let ſal the paper, before it touched the Treasurers hand, and by that occasion, brought her Maieſtie to cal for the ſame. VVhich after ſhe had red and conſidered the ſtile together vvyth the metal and conſtitution of him that vvrote it, & to vvho it vvas ſent: her highnes could not but break forth in laughter, vvyth deſtation of ſuch abſurd and abiect diſſimulations, ſaying vnto my L. Treasurer, ther preſent: my L. belieue hi not, for if he had you in like caſe he vvould plaie the Beare vvyth you, though, at this preſent he favvne vpon you neuer ſo faſt.

Her Ma.
ſpeech of
Leyce. to
the Trea-
ſurer.

But novv, Sir, I pray you go forvvard in your ſpeech of Scotland, for ther, I remember you leſte of, vvhen by occasion vve fel into theſe digreſſions.

The daſ-
ger of her
Ma. by
oppreſſio
of the fa-
vourers
of the
Scottiſhe
title.

VVel then, (quoth the Gentleman) to returne againe to Scotland, (as you moue) frō vvhen vve haue digreſſed: moſte certaine and euident it is to al the vvorld, that al the broyles, troubles, & daungers procured to the Prince in that countrie, as alſo the vexations of them, vvho anie vvay are thought to fauoure that title in our ovvn Realm, do proceed from the drift and complot of theſe conſpirarours. VVhich beſides the great daungets mentioned before, both domeſtical and forreine, temporal and of religion, muſt needes infer great ieopardie alſo to her Ma. perſon and preſent reigne, that novv gouerneth, through the hope and heat of the aſpirons ambitio, inflamed and increaſed ſo much the more, by the nearnes of their deſired pray.

For as ſouldiars entred into hope of a riche and

vvel furnished Citie, are more feare & furious, A Similitude.
 vwhen they haue gotten and beaten down the
 Bulwarks round about: and as the greedie Bur-

glarer that hath pearced and broken down many
 vales to come to a treasure, is lesse patient of staye,
 stop and delaye, vwhen he cummeth in sight of that
 vvhich he desireth, or perceyueth onlie some par-
 titiō of vvanel kot or the like, betvvixt his fingers
 and the cofers or monie bagges: so thes men, vvhē
 they shal see the succession of Scotland extin-
 guished, together vvyth al friendes and fauourers
 therof, (vvhich novv are to her Maiestie as Bul-
 vvarkes and VVales, and great obstacles to the as-
 pirours) and vwhen they shal see onlie her Ma. life
 and person, to stand betvvixt them and their fire
 desires, (for they make litle accompt of al other cō-
 petitours by K. Héries line:) no doubt, but it vvilbe
 to them a great prick & spurre, to dispatch her Ma.
 also: the nature of both Earles being vvel consi-
 dered, vvherof the one killed his ovvn vvife (as
 hath bene shewved before) onlie vpo a litle vayne
 hope of mariage vvyth a Quene & the other being
 so far blinded and borne avway, vvith the same fu-
 rious fume, and most impotent itching humour of
 ambition: as his ovvn mother, vwhen shee vvas a
 liue, seemed greatlie to feare his fingers, yf once the
 matter should come so neare, as her life had onlie
 stood in his vvaye. For vvhich cause, the good olde
 Couētesse, vvas vvout to pray god, (as I haue heard
 diuers saye) that she might die before her Maiestie,
 (vvhich hapilie vvas graunted vnto her) to the end
 that by standing in her sonnes vvay (vvhō she sayve
 to her grieve, furiously bent to vveare a Crowne:) her sōne

Earle of
Leicester

Earle of
Hūtingt.

The olde
Couētesse.
of Hun-
tingtons
speech of
her sōne

their might not some daungerous extremitie grow to her, by that neernes: And if his ovvn mother feared this mischaunce, vvhat may her Ma. doubt, at his and his companions handes, vvhen she only shalbe the obstacle of al their vnbrydled and impatient desires?

L A V V.

Cleare it is (quoth the Lavvyer) that the neernes of aspirours to the Crovv, endaungereth greatly the present possessors, as you haue vvell prooued by reason, & I could shew by diuers examples, yf it vvere need. For vvhen Hérie Bollingbrook Duke of Lancaster saue, not onlie Richard the second to be vvithout issue, but also Roger Mortymer Earle of Marche, that should haue succeded in the Crovv, to be slaine in Ireland: though before (as is thought) he meant not to vsurp, yet seing the possibilitie and nere cut that he had: vvas inuited thervvith, to lay handes of his soueraines blood & dignitie, as he did. The like is thought of Richard Duke of Glocester, that he neuer meāt the murder of his nephevves, vntil he saue their father dead, & them selues in his ovvn handes: his brother also after K. Duke of Clarence dispatched, & his onlie sonne & heire Earle of VVarvvick, vvith his ovvn povver.

Neernes in cōpetitors doth incite the to aduerture.

Henrye Bolingbrooke after K. Héry the fourth.

Richard Duke of Glocest. after K. Richard the third.

The great vvifdom of her Ma. in cōservig the next heirs of Scotland.

VVherfore, seing, it hath not pleased almighty God, for causes to him self best knowen, to leave vnto this noble Realm, any issue by her moste excellent Ma. it hath bene a point of great vvifdom in mine opinion, and of great safitie to her highnes person, state, and dignitie: to preserue hitherto, the line of the next inheritours by the house of Scolard (I meane both the mother and the sonne,) vvhos deathes hath bene so diligently sought, by the other

competitours, and had bene long ere this atchiued, if her Ma. ovvn vvifdom and Royal clemencie (as is thought,) had not placed special eye vppon the conseruation therof, from tyme to tyme. VVhich Princelie prouidēce, so long as it shal endure, must needes be a great safitie and fortresse to her Ma. not onlie against the claimes, aydes, or annoiaunce of forreine Princes, vvho vvil not be so forvvard to aduaunce straunge titles, vvwhile so manifest heires remaine at home, nor yet so vvilling (in respect of policie) to help that line to possessiō of the vvhole lland: but also against practises of domestical aspirours (as you haue shewved,) in vvhos affaires no doubte but thes tvvo braunshes of Scotland are great blockes, as also special Bulvvarkes to her Ma. life and person: seing (as you saye) thes comparteners, make so litle accompt of al the other of that Line, vvho should insue by order of succession.

Marie yet of the tvvo, I thīk the youth of Scotlād be of much more importaunce, for their purpose, to be made avvay, both for that he may haue issue, and is like in tyme to be of more abilitie, for defence of his ovvn inheritaunce: as also for that he being once dispatched, his mother shoud soone ensue, by one sleight or other, vvwhich they vvould deuise vnnvitting to her Ma. albeit, I must needes confesse, that her highnes hath vsed most singular prudence for preuention therof: in placing her restraint vvith so Noble, stroung, and vvorthie a Peere of our Realm, as the Earle of Shrevvsvburie is: vvhos fidelitie and cōstancy being nothing pliable to the others factiō, giueth thē litle cōtentatiō. And

The K. of Scotlands destruction of more importance to the cōspirators, then his mothers.

The Erle of Shrevvsvburie disgraced by the cōpetitours.

for that cause, the vworld seeth, how manie sundrie and diuers deuises they haue vsed, and do vse dailie to flaunder and disgrace him, and therby to pull from him his charge committed.

To this the Gentleman answered nothing at al, but stood stil musing vvith him self, as though he had conceiued some deep matter in his head: and after a litle pause he began to saye as foloweth.

GENTL.

The vigilant eye that her Ma. ancestors had to the collateral line

Persons executed of the house of Clarence.

I cannot truelie but much maruaile, vvhen I do cōpare some thinges of this tyme & gouernment, vvith the doinges of former Princes progenitours to her Ma. Namelie of Hérie the seuenth & Henry the eight: vvho had so vigilant an eye to the lateral line of K. Edvvard the fourth by his brother of Clarence, as they thought it necessarie, not onlie to preuent al euident daungers, that might ensue that vvaye, but euen the possibilities of al peril: as may vvell appeare by the execution of Edvvard Earle of VVarvvike before named, sonne and heire to the said Duke of Clarence, and of Margaret his sister Countesse of Salisburie, vvith the Lord Henrie Montague her sonne, by vvhos daughter the Earle of Huntington novv claimeth. Al vvich vv ere executed for auoiding of inconueniences, and that at such tymes, vvhen no imminent daunger could be much doubted, by that Line, especialie by the later. And yet novv vvhen one of the same house and line, of more habilitie and ambition, then euer anie of his auncestors vv ere, maketh open title and claime to the Crovv n, vvith plotes, packes, and preparations to mozte manifest vsurpation, against al order, al lavv, and al rightful succession: & against a special statute prouided in that behalf: yet is he permitted,

mitted, borne out, fauored, and friended therin: and no man so hardie, as in defence of her Ma. and Realm, to controle him for the same.

It may be, that her Ma. is brought into the same opinion of my L. of Huntingtons fidelitie, as Iulius Cæsar vvas of Marcus Brutus, his dearest obliged friend: of vvhos ambitious practises, and aspiring, vvhē Cæsar vvas aduertised, by his careful friēdes: he answered, that he vvel knevv Brutus to be ambitious, but I am sūre (quoth he) that my Brutus vvil neuer attēpt anie thing for the Empire, vvhile Cæsar lyueth: and after my death, let him shift for the same among others, as he can. But vvhat ensued? Surelie I am loth to tel the euent, for ominations sake, but yet al the vworld knowveth, that ere manie monethes passed, this moſte Noble and Clement Emperoure, vvas pitifulie murdered by the same Brutus and his parteners, in the publique Senate, vvhē least of al he expected such treason. So dangerous a thing it is, to be secure in a matter of so great sequele, or to trust them vvyth a mans lyfe, vvhō may pretend preferment or interest, by his death.

The example of Iulius Cæsar's destruction.

VVherfore, vvould God her Ma. in this case, might be induced, to haue such due care & regarde of her ovvn estate & Royal person, as the vveightry moment of the matter requireth: vvhich cōteineth the blisse and calamitie of so Noble and vvorthie a kingdom, as this is.

I knowv right vvel, that moſte excellent natures are alvvayes furdest of, from diffidence in such people, as profes loue, and are moſte bounden by devvtie: and so it is evident in her Ma. But yet

To much cōfidence very perilous in a Prince.

surelie, this confidence so commendable in other men, is scarce aloyvable often tymes in the person of a Prince: for that it goeth accompanied vvyth so great peril, as is ineuitable to him that vvil not suspect: principallie vwhen daungers are fortolde or presaged, (as commonlie by Gods appointment they are, for the speciall hand he holdeth ouer Princes affaires,) or vwhen ther is probable coniecture, or iust surmise of the same.

The example of Alexander the great how he vvas fortolde his daunger.

VVe knowv that the forenamed Emperour Caesar, had not onlie the vvarning giuen him of the inclination and intent of Brutus to vsurpation, but euen the verie day vwhen he vvas going tovvardes the place of his appointed destinie, ther vvas giuen vp into his handes a detection of the vvhole treason, vvyth request to read the same presentlie, vvhich he vpon confidence omitted to do. VVe read also of Alexander the great, howv he vvas not onelie forbidden by a learned man, to enter into Babylō (vvhether he vvas then going) for that ther vvas treason meant agaist him, in the place: but also that he vvas foretolde of Antipaters mischienous meaning against him, in particular. But the yong Prince hauing so vvel deserued of Antipater, could not be brought to mistrust the man that vvas so deare vnto him: & by that means vvas poisoned in a bāquet, by three sōnes of Antipater, vvhich vv ere of moſte credit & cōfidence in the kinges Chāber.

SCHOL.

Here, truelie, my hart did somevvhat tremble vvyth feare, horroure, and detestation of such euentures. And I said vnto the Gentleman. I beseech you, Syr, to talke no more of thes matters, for I cannot vvel abide to heare them named: hoping

in the Lord, that ther is no cause, nor euer shalbe, to doubt the like in Endland: specialie from thes men vvho are so much bounden to her Ma. and so forvvard in seeking out and pursueing al such, as may be thought to be daungerous to her Ma. person, as by the fundrie late executions vve haue scene, and by the punishmentes euerie vvaye of Papistes, vve may perceyue. Late executions.

Trueth it is (quoth the Gentleman) that iustice hath bene done vpon diuers of late, vvwhich cōtēneth me greatlie, for the terrour and restreint of others, of vvhat sect or religion so euer they be: And it is moſte necessarie (doubtles) for the compressing of parties, that great vigilance be vsed in that behalf. But vvhen I consider, that onlie one kinde of men are touched herein: and that al speech, regarde, doubt, distrust, and vvatche, is of them alone, vvvythout reflexion of eye vpon anie other mens doinges or designementes: vvhen I see the double diligence, & vehemencie of certaine instrumentes, vvwhich I like not, bent vvholie to rayse vvounder and admiration of the people: feare, terrour, and attention, to the doeinges, sayinges, and meaninges of one parte or faction alone, and of that namlie and onlie, vvwhich thes cōspiratours esteeme for moſt daungerous and opposite to them selues: I am (believe me) often tempted to suspect fraude and false measure: and that thes men deale, as vvolumes by nature in other countries are vvount to doe: GENTL.

Vvwhich going together in great numbers to assaile a flock of shepe by night, do set some one or tvvo of their cōpanie vpon the vvinde side of the fōlde a farof, vvho partly by their sent & other brūteliſſg, Fraude to be feared in pursuesing one parte or faction onlie.

The com-
parison of
vvolues &
Rebels.

vvhich of purpose they make, may dravv the doggs and shepheardes to pursue them alone, vvholes the other do enter and flea the vvhole flock. Or as rebelles that meaning to surprise a tovvn, to turn avvay the inhabitantes from consideration of the daunger, & from defence of that place, vvhere they intend to enter: do set on fire some other partes of the tovvn funder of, and do sound a false al'arme at some gate, vvher is ment least daunger.

Rychard
Duke of
York.

VVhich arte, vvas vsed cunninglie by Richard Duke of York in the tyme of K. Henrie the sixt, vvhen he to couer his ovvn intent, brought al the Realm in doubt of the doinges of Edmond Duke of Somerset, his enimie. But Iohn of Northumberland, father to my Lord of Leycester, vsed the same arte much more skilfulie, vvhen he put al England in a maze and musing of the Protector and of his friēdes: as though nothing could be safe about the yong king, vntil they vvēre suppressed: and consequentlie, al brought into his ovvn authoritie, vvythout obstacle. I speak not this, to excuse Papistes, or to vvyshe them anie vvaye spared vvherin they offend: but onlie to signifie that in a countrie, vvher so potent factions be, it is not safe, to suffer the one to make it selfe so puissant by pursute of the other: as aftervvards the Prince must remaine at the deuotion of the stronger: but rather as in a bodie molested and troubled vvyth contrarie humours, yfal cannot be purged, the best Phisick is, vvythout al doubt, to reduce and holde them at such an equalitie: as destruction may not be feared of the predominante.

Duke
Dudley.

A good
rule of
policie.

L A V V. To this sayd the Lávvyer laughing, yea Marie

Sir, I vvould to God, your opinion might preuaile in this matter: for then shoud vve be in other tearmes, then novv vve are. I vvas not long since, in companie of a certaine honorable Ladie of the Court, vvho, after some speech passed by Gentlemen that vv ere present, of some aprehended, and some executed, and such like affaires: brak into a great complaint of the present tyme, and thervv yth (I assure you) moued al the hearers to grie fe (as vvomen you know are potēt in styrring of affections,) and caused them al to vv yf he that her Maiestie, had bene nigh to haue heard her vvordes.

I do vv el remember (quoth she) the first douzen yea res of her highnes reign, hovv happie, pleasant and quiet they vv ere, vv ith al maner of comfort and consolation. Ther vvas no mention then of factions in religion, neither vvas anie man much noted or reiect ed for that cause: so other vv yse his conuersation vv ere ciuile and courteous. No suspicion of treason, no talke of bloodshed, no cōplaint of troubles, miseries or vexations. Al vvas peace, al vvas loue, al vvas ioye, al vvas delight. Her Ma. (I am sure) toke more recreation at that tyme, in one day, then she doth novv in a vv hole vv eek: and vve that serued her highnes, enioyed more contentation in a vv eek, then vve can novv in diuers yea res. For novv, ther are so manie suspitions, euery vv here, for this thing and for that: as vve cannot tel vv hom to trust. So manie melancholique in the Court, that seme malcontented: so manie complaining or suing for their friendes that are in trouble: other slip ouer the sca, or retire them

The spech
of a cer-
tayne La-
die of the
Court.

selues vpon the sudden: so manie tales brought vs of this or that daunger, of this man suspected, of that man sent for vp, and such like vnpleasant and vnfaerie stufte: as vve can neuer almoste be merry one vvhole day together.

More
modera-
tion vvif-
shed in
matters
of factiō.

VVherfore (quoth this Ladie) vve that are of her Ma. trayne and special seruice, and do not onlie feel thes thinges in our selues, but much more in the griefe of her moste excellent Ma. vvhom vve see daylie molested herevvith (being one of the best natures, I am sure, that euer noble Princeesse vvas indued vvith al:) vve cannot but mone, to beholde contentions aduanced so far forth as they are: and vve could vvish most hartilie that for the time to come, thes matters might passe vvith such peace, friendship & tranquility, as they do in other countries: vvher difference in religion breaketh not the bande of good felovvship or fidelitie. And vvith this in a similing maner, she brake of: asking pardon of the cōpanie, if she had spoken her opinion, ouer boldlie, like a vvoman.

The spea-
che of a
Courtier.

To vvhom, answered a Courtier, that sat next her: Madame, your Ladiship hath said nothing in this behalfe, that is not dailie debated among vs, in our common speech in Court, as you know. Your desire also herein is a publique desire, if it might be brought to passe: for ther is no man so simple, that seeth not, hovv perillous thes cōtentions and deuisions among vs, may be in the end. And I haue heard diuers Gētlemen, that be learned, discourse at large vpon this argument: alleaging olde examples of the Athenians, Lacedemonians, Carthagenians, and Romans, vvho receyued notable dammages,

and destruction also, in the end, by their diuisions and factions among them selues: and specialie frō the of their ovvn Cities and Countries, vvhō vpo factiōs liued abroode vvyth forreyners: and therby vvere alvvayes as fire-brandes to carrie home the flambe of vvarre, vpon their countrie.

The peril
of diuisi-
ons & fac-
tions in a
common
vvealth.

The like, they also shevved by the long experiēce of al the great Cities and states of Italie: vvhich by their factious and foruscites, vvere in cōtinual garboile, bloodshed and miserie. VVherof our ovvn countrie hath tasted also her parte, by the odious contention betvvē the houses of Lancaster and York: vvherin it is merueilous to consider, vvhat trouble a fevv men often tymes, departing out of the Realm, vvere able to vvork, by the parte of their factiō remaining at home (vvhich commōlie encreaseth tovvardes them that are absent,) & by the redines of forreine Princes, to receiue alvvaies, and comfort such, as are discontented in an other state: to the ende, that by their meanes, they might holde an ore in their neighbours bote: VVhich, Princes that are nigh borderers, do alvvayes aboue al other thinges most couet and desire.

This vvas that courryers speech & reaso, vvherby I perceyued, that as vvell among them in Court, as among vs in the Realm and countrie abrode, the present inconueniēce & daungerous sequel of this our home dissention, is espyed: and consequentlie most English hartes inclined to vvish the remedy or preuention therof, by some reasonable moderation, or reuinion among cur selues. For that the prosecution of thes differences to extremitie, can not but after manie vvoūdes & exulceratiōs bring

The daſ-
gerous se-
quel of
dissentio
in oure
Realme.

matters finalie to rage, furie and most deadlie desperation.

VVheras on the other side, if any sweet qualification or smal tolleration among vs, vv ere admitted: ther is no doubt, but that affayres vvould passe in our Realm, vv yth more quietnes, safitie & publique vveale of the same, then it is like it vv il do long: and men vvould easilie be brought, that haue English bovvells, to ioyne in the preservation of their countrie, from ruing, bloodshed, and forreine oppression, vv hich desperation of factions is vvout to procure.

GENTL.

Exáples
of tolle-
ration in
matters
of Reli-
gion.

Germany

I am of your opinion (quoth the Gentleman) in that, for I haue sene the experience therof, and al the vvorld beholdeth the same at this day, in al the countries of Germanie, Polonia, Boemland, and Hungarie: vvher a litle bearing of th'one vv yth th'other, hath vvrought them much ease, & continued them a peace, vvherof al Europe besides, hath admiration and enuie. The first douzen yeares also of her Ma. reigne, vvherof your Ladie of the Court discoursed before, can vv el be a vv itnesse of the same: VVherin the commiseration and lenitie that vv as vv sed tovwards thos of the vv eaker sorte, vv yth a certaine sweet diligence for their gaining, by good meanes: vv as the cause of much peace, contentation, and other benefit to the vv hole bodie,

The bre-
ach & re-
union a-
gaine in
Fraunce.

VVe see in Fraunce, that by ouer much pressing of one parte onlie, a fyre vv as inkindled not manie yeares since, like to haue consumed and destroyed the vv hole: had not a necessarie mollification bene thought vpon, by the vv isest of that kinges Counsell, full contrarie to the vv il & inclination of some

great personages, vvho meant perhapes to haue gained more by the other. And since that tyme, vve see vvhat peace, vvealth and revniō, hath insued in that countrie, that vvas so broken, disseuered & vvaisted before. And al this, by yeeldīg a litle in that thing, vvwhich no force can master, but exulcerat rather, and make vvorse: I mean the conscience and iudgement of men in matters of religion.

The like also I could name you in Flaunders, vvher Flaunders. after al thes broyles and miseries, of so manie yeares vvarres (caused principally by to much streyning in such affaires at the beginning) albeit, the king be neuer so strycte-laced, in yeelding to publyque lybertye, and free exercyse on both partes: yet is he descended to this at length, (and that vpon force of reason,) to abstaine from the pursute and searche of mens consciences, not onlie in the rovvnes vvwhich vpō cōpositiō he receiueth, but also vvhere he hath recouered by force, as in Tornay, & other places: vvher I am informed that no mā is searched, demaunded, or molested for his opinion or conscience, nor anie acte of Papistry or contrarie religion required at their handes: but are permitted to liue quietlie to God & them selues, at home in their ovvn houses: so they performe otherwise, their outvvard obedience & dueties to their Prince & country. VVhich onlie qualification, tolerance, & moderatiō in our Realm (yf I be not deceyued, vvyth manie more that be of my opinion) vvould cōtent al diuisions, factiōs, & parties amōg vs, for their continuance in peace: be they Papistes, Puritanes, Familians, or of vvhat soeuer nyce difference or sectiō besides, and vvould be sufficient to q

retheyne al parties, vvythin a temperat obedience to the magistrat and gouernment, for conseruatiō of their countrie: vvhich vvere of no smal importāce to the contētation of her Ma. and vveale publique of the vvhole kingdom

Moderation im-
pugned
by the cō-
spirators.
Cicero.
Cateline.

The con-
spirators
oportu-
nytie.

But vvhath I shoulde I talke of this thing, vvhich is so contrarie to the desires and designementes of our puisant cōspiratours? VVhat I should Cicero the Senatour vse persuations to Captaine Cateline & his crevv, that quietnes and order, vvere better thē hurleburles? Is it possible that our aspirours, vvil euer permit anie such thing, cause, or matter, to be treated in our state, as may tend to the stabilitie of her Ma. present gouernment. No surelie: it standeth nothing vvyth their vvīsdō or pollicie: especialie at this instant, vvhē they haue such oportunitie of folovving their ovvn actions in her Maesties name, vnder the vizarde and pretext, of her defence and safitie: hauing sovved in euerie mans head, so manie imaginations of the daungers present, both abroad and at home: from Scotland, Flaunders, Spaine, & Irelāde: so manie conspiracies, so manie intended murders, & others so manie cō- triued or conceyued mis hyeues: as my L. of Leicester assureth him self, that the troubled vvater cā not be cleared againe, in shorth space, nor his baies and lines layde therin, easilie espied: but rather, that hereby ere long, he vvil catche the fishe he gapeth so gredilie after: and in the meane tyme, for the pursute of thes crymes, and other that daylie he vvil finde out, him self must remaine perpetual dictator.

But vvhath meaneth this so much inculcating of

troubles, treasons, murders and inuasions? I like not surelie thes ominous speeches. And as I am out of doubt, that Leycester the caster of thes shadowes, doth loke to play his parte first in thes troublesome affaires: so do I hartelie feare that onles the tyrannie of this Leycestriane furie be speedilie stopped, that such miserie to Prince, & people (vvhich the Lord for his mercies sake turne from vs) as neuer greater fel before to oure miserable countrie: is far nearer had then is expected or suspected.

And therefore, for preuention of thes calamities, to tell you plainlie mine opinion (good Sirs) and thervvyth to dravv to an end of this our conferēce (for it vvaxeth late:) I vvould think it the most necessary point of al for her Ma. to cal his Lordship to accompt among other, and to see vvhat other men could say against him, at lēgthe, after so manie yeares of his sole accusing and pursueing of others. I knowv & am verie vvell assured, that no one acte vvhich her Ma. hath done since her cōming to the Crowvn (as she hath done ryght manie moste highlie to be cōmended,) nor anie, that lightlie her Ma. may do hierafter, can be of more vtilitie to her self, and to the Realm, or more grateful vnto her faithful & zelous subiectes: then this noble acte of iustyce vvould be, for tryal of thys mans desertes tovvardes his countrie.

Leycester
to be cal-
led to ac-
compt.

I say it vvould be profitable to her Ma. and to the Realm, not onlie in respect of the manie daungers before mētioned, hereby to be auoided, vvhich are like to ensue most certenliē, if his courses be stil permitted: but also, for that her Maiestie shal by this, deliuer her self, from that general

grudge and grieve of minde, vvith great dislike, vvhich manie subiectes, othervvise moſte faythful, haue cōceiued againſt the exceſſiue fauour ſhevvved to this man, ſo manie yeares, vvithout deſert or reaſon. VVhich fauour, he hauing vſed to the hurt annoyance and oppreſſion both of infinit ſeueral perſons, and the vvhole cōmon vvealth (as hath bene ſaid:) the grieve & reſentimēt therof, doth redound commonlie in ſuch caſes, not onlie vpon the perſon delinquent alone, but alſo vpon the ſoueraigne, by vvhos fauour & authoritie he offereth ſuch iniuries, though neuer ſo much againſt the others intent, vvil, deſire, or meaning.

The
death of
K. Philip
of Macedonie &
cauſe
therof.

And hereof vve haue examples of ſundrie Princes, in al ages and countries: vvhos exorbitant fauour to ſome vvicked ſubiect that abuſed the ſame: hath bene the cauſe of great daunger and ruyn: the ſinnes of the fauorite, being returned, and reuenged, vpon the fauourer. As in the hiftorie of the Grecians is declared, by occaſion of the pitiful murder of that vvife and vvictorious Prince Philip of Macedonie, vvho albeit, that he vvere vvell aſſured to haue giuen no offence of him ſelf to anie of his ſubiectes, and conſequentlie feared nothing, but conuerſed openlie and confidentlie among them: yet, for that he had fauoured too much one Duke Attalus a proude and insolent Courtier, and had borne him out in certaine of his vvickednes, or at leaſt, not puniſhed the ſame after it vvvas detected and complained vpon: the parties grieued, accompliſhing the crime more proper and hainous on the parte of him, vvho by office ſhould do iuſtice, and protect other, then of the perpetrator, vvho

foloweth but his ovvn passion and sensualitie: let passe Attalus, and made their reuenge vpon the blood and life of the king him self, by one Pausanias, suborned for that purpose, in the mariage day of the kings ovvn daughter. Pausanias.

Great store of like examples might be repeated, out of the stories of other countries, nothing being more vsual or frequēt amōg al nations, then the afflictions of Realmes and kingedomes, and the ouerthrow of Princes and great potentates them selues, by their to much affection, tovvardes some vnvvorthie particular persons: a thing inded so common and ordinarie, as it may vvell seme to be the specialest rock of al other, vvherat kinges and Princes do make their shipvvrackes.

For if vve loke into the states and Monarchies of al Christendom, and consider, the ruines that haue bene of anie Prince or ruler vvithin the same: vve shal finde this point, to haue bene a great and principal parte of the cause therof: and in our ovvn state & coutry, the matter is toto euident. For vvheras, since the conquest, vve number principallie, thre iust and lavvful kinges, to haue come to cōfusiō, by alienation of their subiectes: that is, Edvvard the second, Richard the second, and Henry the sixt, this onlie point of to much fauour tovvardes vvicked persons, vvvas the chieftest cause of destruction, in al thre. As in the first, the excesssiue fauour tovvardes Peter Gauesten and tvvo of the Spencers. In the second, the like extraordinarie, and indiscrete affection tovvardes Robert Vere Earle of Oxeford, and Marques of Dubline, and Thomas Movvbray, tvvo moſte turbulent and vvicked men, that set the

Kinges
of En-
glād ouer-
throwen
by to
much fa-
uoring of
some par-
ticular
men.

K. Ed-
vvard. 2.

K. Ri-
chard. 2.

kinge againste his ovvne vncles and the nobilitie.

K. Hen-
ric. 6.

In the third, (being a simple and holie man) albeit, no great exorbitant affection vvas sene to- vwards any, yet his vvife Quene Margarets to much fauour and credit (by him not controled) to vwards the Marques of Suffolke, that after vvas made Duke, by vvhos instinct and vvicked Counsaile, she made avvay first the noble Duke of Gloucester, and aftervvard committed other thinges in great prejudice of the Realm, and suffred the said moste impious & sinful Duke, to range & make hauock of al sorte of subiectes, at his pleasure, (much after the fashion of the Earle of Leycester novv, though yet not in so high and extreme a degre :) this I say vvas the principal and original cause, both before God and man, (as Polidore vvell noteth) of al the calamitie and extreme desolation, vvwhich after ensued both to the kinge, Queene, and theire onelie child, vvith the vtter extirpation of theire familie:

Pol. lib.
23. hist.
Angl.

And so likevvise novv to speak in our particular case, if ther be anie grudge or grieve at this day, anie mislike, repining, complaint or murmure, against her Ma. government, in the hartes of her true and faithfull subiectes, vvho vvish amendmēt of that vvwhich is amisse, and not the ouerthrow of that vvwhich is vvell: (as I trovve it vvwere no vvvisdom to imagine ther vvwere none at al:) I dare avouch vpon conscience, that either al, or the greatest parte therof, procedeth from this man: vvho by the fauour of her Ma. so afflicteth her people, as neuer did before him, either Gauestō, or Spēcer, or Vere, or Movvbray, or anie other mischievous Tyrant,

that abused moste his Princes fauour vvithin our Realm of England. VVherby it is euident how profitable a thing it should be to the vvhole Realme, how honorable to her Ma. and how grateful to al her subiectes, if this man at length might be called to his accompt.

Sir (quoth the Lavvyer) you aleage great reason, and verilie I am of opinion, that if her Ma. knew but the tenth parte of this, vvwhich you haue here spoken, as also her good subiectes desires and complaint in this behalfe: she vvould vvell shevv, that her highnes feareth not to permit iustice to passe vpon Leycester, or anie other vvithin her Realm, for satisfaction of her people, vvhat soeuer some men may think and report to the contrarie, or how soeuer othervvise of her ovvne mylde disposition, or good affection tovvardes the person, she haue borne vvith him hitherto. For so vve see, that vvise Princes can do at tymes conuenient, for peace, tranquillitie, and publique vveale: though contrarie to their ovvn particular and peculiar inclination.

As to goe no further, then to the last example named and aleaged by your self before: though Queene Margaret the vvife of K. Henrie the sixt, had fauoured moste vnfortunatlie manie yeares together VVillm. Duke of Suffolke, (as hath bene said) vvherby he committed manifold outrages, & afflicted the Realm by fundrie meanes: yet she being a vvoman of great prudence, vvhen she savv the vvhole communaltie demaund iustice vppon him for his demerites, albeit she liked and loued the man still: yet for satisfaction of the people,

L A V V.

The punishment
of VVill-
liã Duke
of Suffolke.

An. 30. of
Kings
Henric. 6.

vpon so general a complaint: (he vvas content, first to commit him to prison, and aftervvard to banish him the Realm: but the prouidence of God vvould not permit him so to escape: for that he being incountred, and taken vpon the sea in his passage, he vvas beheaded in the ship, and so receyued some parte of condigne punishment for his most vvicked, loose, and licentious life.

And to seeke no more examples in this case, vve knowv into vvhat fauour and special grace Sir Edmond Dudley my Lord of Leycesters good Graundfather vvas crept, vvith king Henrie the seuenth, in the later end of his reigne: and vvhat intollerable vvickednes & mischief he vvrought againste the vvhole Realme, and againste infinit particular persons of the same, by the poolinges & oppressions vvwhich he practised: vvherby though the king receyued great temporal commoditie at that tyme, (as her Ma. doth nothing at al, by the present extorsions of his nephewv:) yet for iustice sake, & for meere compassion tovvardes his afflicted subiectes, that complained greuoullie of this iniquitie: that moste vertuous and vvise Prince K. Henrie, vvas content to put from him, this levvde instrument, and deuillifhe suggestour of nev exactions: vvhom his sonne Henrie, that insued in the Crovvn, caused presentlie before al other busines, to be called publiquelie to accompt, and for his desertes to leese his head. So as vvhere the interest of a vvhole Realme, or cōmon cause of manie, taketh place: the priuate fauour of anie one, cannot stay a vvise and godlie Prince, (such as al the vvorld knowveth her Ma. to be) frō permit-

ting

The punishment
of Edmond
Dudley.

ting iustice to haue her free passage.

Truelie it should not (quoth the Gentleman) **GENTL.**
for to that end vvere Princes first elected, & vpon
that consideration do subiectes paye them both
tribute and obedience: to be defended by them **The cau-**
from iniuries and oppressions, and to see lawes **ses vvhic**
executed, & iustice excercised, vpon and tovvardes **Princes**
al men, vvyth indifferencie. And as for our parti- **vvere cho**
cular case of my Lord of Leycester, I do not see in **sen & do**
right and equitie, hovv her Ma. may denie this **receyue**
lawful desire and petition of her people. For yf her **obediēce.**
highnes do permit and commaūd the lawes daylie
to passe vpon thieues and murderers, vvythout
exception, and that for one facte onlie, as by expe-
rience vve see: hovv then can it be denied in this
man, vvho in both kindes hath committed more
enormous actes, then may be vvell recompted.

As in the first, of theft, not onlie by spoyling **Leycest.**
and oppressing almoste infinit priuate men: but **Theftes.**
also vvhole tovvnes, villages, corporations, and
countries, by robbing the Realme vvyth inordi-
nate licences, by deceyuing the Crowne vvyth
racking, changing and imbezeling the landes, by
abusing his Prince and soueraine in selling his fa-
uour both at home and abroad: vvyth taking
bribes for matter of iustice, grace, request, suppli-
cation, or vvhat soeuer sute els may depend vpon
the Court or of the Princes authoritie: vvyth set-
ting at saile and making open market, of vvhat so-
euer her Ma. can giue, do, or procure, be it spiritual
or temporal. In vvch sorte of trafique, he com-
mitteth more thefte, often tymes in one day: then

al the vvaykeepers, cutpurfes, coufiners, pirates, burglares, or other of that arte in a vvhole yeare, vvyth in the Realm.

Leycest.
murders.

And as for the seconde, vvwhich is murder, you haue hearde before somevvhat faide and prooued: but yet nothing, to that vvwhich is thought to haue bene in secret committed vpon diuers occasions at diuers tymes, in sundrie persons, of different calling in both sexes, by most variable meanes of killing, poysoning, charming, inchaunting, coniuering and the like: according to the diuersitie of men, places, opportunities and instrumentes for the same. By al vvwhich meanes, I think, he hath more blood lying vpon his heade at this daye, crying vengeance against him at Godes handes and her Ma. then euer had priuate man in our countrie before, vvhere he neuer so vvicked.

A heape
of Leices.
enormi-
ties that
vvould be
redie at
the daye
of histrial

VVherto novv, yf vve ad his other good behauiour, as his intollerable licenciousnes in al filthie kinde and maner of carnalitie, vvyth al sorte of vviues, friendes and kinsvvomen: yf vve ad his iniuries and dis honours, done hereby to infinit: yf vve ad his treasons, treacheries and conspiracies about the Crowne: his disloyal behauiour and hatred against her Ma. his ordinarie lying, and common periuring him self, in al matters for his gaine, both great and smal: his rapes and moste violent extorsions vpon the poore: his abusing of the Parliament and other places of iustyce, vvyth the Nobyltye and vvhole communalitie besides: yf vve ad also his open iniuries vvwhich he offereth daylie to religion, and the Ministers

therof; by tything them, and turning all to his
 ovvn gaine : together vvyth his manifest and
 knovven tyrannie practized tovvardes al estates
 abroad, throughout al Shires of the kingdom : his
 dispoylinge of both the vniuersities, and discour-
 aging of infinit notable vvittes ther, from seeking
 perfection of knovvledge and learning, (vvhich
 othervvise vv ere like to become notable) especially
 in Gods vvord (vvhich giueth life vnto the soule,)
 by defrauding them of the price and revvarde pro-
 posed for their trauaile in that kinde, through
 his insatiable Simoniactal contractes : yf, I say, vve
 should lay together al thes enormities before her
 Maiestie, and thovvlandes more in particular,
 vvhich might and vvoulde be gathered, yf his day
 of tryal vv ere but in hope to be graunted. I do
 not see in equitie and reason, hovv her highnes
 sitting in throne, and at the Royal Sterne, as she
 doth, could denie her subiectes this moste lawvful
 request: considering, that euerie one of thes crymes
 aparte, requireth iustice of his ovvn nature : and
 much more al together ought to obtaine the same,
 at the handes of anie good and godlie Magistrate
 in the vvorld.

No doubt (quoth I) but that thes considera- SCHOL:
 tions, must needes vveigh much vvyth anie zelous
 Prince, and much more vvyth her moste excel-
 lent Maiestie : vvhos tender hatt tovvardes her Her Ma.
 Realm & subiectes, is verie vv el knovven of al mē. tender hatt
 It is not to be thought also but that her highnes tovvardes
 the Realm
 hath intelligence of diuers of thes matters aleaged,
 though not perhaps of al. But vvhat vvould you

haue her Ma. to do ? perhaps the consultation of this affayre, is not, vvhat vvhere conuenient, but vvhat is expedyent : not, vvhat ought to be done in iustice, but vvhat may be done in safetie. You haue described my Lord before to be a great man, stronglie furnished and fortyfyed for al euentes. VVhat yf it be not secure to barck at the Beare that is so vvell brytched ? I speake vnto you but that vvwhich I heare in Cambrige and other places, vvher I haue passed: vvhere euerie mans opinion is, that her Maiestie standeth not in free choysce to doe vvhat her self best lyketh in that case, at this daye.

GENTL.

Lei. desire
that men
should
think her
Ma. to
stand in
feare of
him.

I knowv (said the Gentleman) that Leycesters friends giue it out euerie vvhere, that her Ma. nowv, is their good Lords prisoner, and that she either vvill or must be directed by him for the tyme to come, except she vvill do vvorse: VVhich thing his Lordship is vvell contented should be spred abroad, and belieued, for tvvo causes : the one to hold the people therby more in awe of him self, then of their soueraine, and secondlie to dravv her Ma. in deed, by degrees to feare him. For considering vvith him self vvhat he hath done : and that it is impossible in trueth that euer her Maiestie should loue him againe, or trust him after so manie treacheries, as he vvell knowveth are come to her highnes vnderstanding : he thinketh that he hath no vvay of sure standing, but by terrour, and opinion of his puissaunt greatnes: vvherby he vvould hold her Maiestie, and the Realm in thraldom, as his father did in his tyme before him: And then for that

he vvell remembreth the true saing, *Malus custos diuturnitatis, metus*: he must prouyde shortlie that thos vvwhich feare him, be not able to hurt him: and consequentlie you knowv, vvhat must folovv, by the example of K. Edvvard, vvho feared Duke Dudley extremelie, for that he had cut of his tvvo vncles heades, and the Duke toke order that he should neuer liue to reuenge the same: For it is a setled rule of Machiuel, vvwhich the Dudleys do obserue: *That, vvhere you haue once done a great iniurie, ther must you neuer forgine.*

Cicero in
Officio.

A rule of
Machiuel
obserued
by the
Dudleys.

But I vvil tel you (my friendes) and I vvil tel you no vntrueth, for that I knowv vvhat I speake herein, and am priuie to the state of my Lord in this behalf, and of mens opinions and affections tovvardes him vvithin the Realm. Moste certaine it is, that he is strong by the present fauour of the Prince, (as hath bene shewved before) in respect vvherof, he is admitted also as chiefe patron of the Huntington faction, though neither loued nor greatlie trusted of the same: but let her Maiestie once turne her countenaunce a side from him, in good earnest, and speake but the vvord onlie, that iustice shal take place against him: and I vvil vnder take vvith gadging of both my life and litle landes that God hath giuē me, that vvithout sturre or trouble, or anie daunger in the vvorld, the Beare shalbe taken to her Maiesties hand, & fast chained to a stake, vvith mouzele cord, collar & ring, and al other thinges necessarie: so that her Maiestie shal bate him at her pleasure, vvithout al daunger of by-

Lei. strong
onlie by
her Ma.
fauour.

An offer
made for
taking &
tyeing the
Beare.

tyng, breaking loose, or anie other inconuenience
vvhath soeuer.

Lei. vvhath
he recey
ueth frō
his ances-
tours.

For (Syrs) you must not think, that this man
holdeth anie thing abroad in the Realme, but by
violence, and that onlie vpon her Maiesties fauour
and countenaunce towardes him. He hath not
anie thing of his ovvn, either from his ancestoures,
or of him self, to staye vpon, in mens hartes or con-
ceiptes: he hath not auncient nobilitie, as other of
our Realme haue, vvhetherby mens affections are
greatlie moued. His father Iohn Dudley vvas the
first noble of his line: vvhich raysed and made him
selfe bygge by supplanting of other, and by setting
debate amonge the nobilitie: as also his Grandfa-
ther Edmond, a moste vvicked promotor, and
vvretched petifogar, enriched him self by other
mens ruynes: both of them condemned traytours,
though differēt in qualitie, the one being a Cousi-
ner, and the other a Tyraunt, & both of their vices
conioyned, collected, and comprised (vvith manie
more additions) in this man (or beaste rather)
vvhich is Robert, the third of their kinne & kinde.
So that, from his ancestours, this Lord receyueth
neither honour nor honestie, but onlie succession
of treason and infamie.

And yet in him self hath he much lesse of good,
vvhervvith to procure him self loue or credit
among men, then thes ancestoures of his had: he
being a man vvholie abandonned of humane
vertue, and deuoted to vvickednes, vvhich maketh
men odible both to God and man. In his father (no
doubt) ther vv ere to be seene manie excellent good

partes, if they had bene ioined vvith faith, honesty, The com-
 moderatiō, & loyalty. For al the vvorld knowveth, paryson
 that he vvas verie vvysse, valyant, magnanimous, of Leices.
 liberal, and assured friendlie vvher he once pro- vvith his
 mised: of al vvwhich vertues, my Lord his sonne, father.
 hath neither shevv nor shadowv, but onlie a cer-
 taine false representation of the first, being craftie
 and subtile to deceiue, & ingenious to vvickednes.
 For as for valeur, he hath as much as hath a mouse:
 his magnanimity, is base fordiditi~~s~~ his liberality,
 rapine: his friendship, plaine fraude, holding onlie
 for his gaine and no othervvise, though it vvere
 bound vvith a thousand othes: of vvwhich he ma-
 keth as great accōpt, as hennes do of cackling, but
 onlie for his commoditie: vsing them specialie and
 in greatest number, vvhen moste he meaneth to
 deceiue. Namelie if he svveare solemnlie, by his
 George, or by the eternal God, then be sure it is a
 false lye: for thes are obseruations in the Court: &
 some tymes in his ovvn lodging, in like case his
 maner is to take vp and svveare by the Bible,
 vvherby a Gētleman of good accompt, & one that
 seemeth to folovv him, (as manie do that like him
 but a litle) protested to me of his knowvledge, that
 in a verie short space, he obserued him, vvittingly
 & vvillingly, to be forsvvorne sixtiene tymes.

This man therfore, so contemptible by his The
 auncestours, so odible of him self, so plunged, vvweaknes
 ouervvhelmed, and defamed in al vice, so enuied of Ley. yf
 in the Court, so detested in the countrie, and not her Ma.
 trusted of his ovvn and dearest friendes: nay, turne but
 (vvwhich I am priuie to) so misliked and hated of her coun-
 tenance from him.

his ovpn seruauntes about him, for his beastlie lyfe, nigardye, and Atheisme, (beyng neuer sene yet, to say one priuate prayer vvythin his chamber in his lyfe) as they desire nothing in this vworld so much as his ruyn, and that they may be the first, to lay handes vpon him, for reuenge. This man (I say) so broken both vvythin and vvythout, is it possible that her Ma. and her vvyse Councell should feare? I can neuer belieue it: or yf it be so: it is Gods pe~~ri~~uision vvythout al cause, for punishment of our sinnes: for that this man, yf he once perceyue indeed, that they feare him, vvil handle them accordingly and playe the Beare indeed: vvhych inconuenience I hope they vvil haue care to preuent, and so I leaue it to God and them: crauing pardon of my Lord of Leycester for my boldnes, yf I haue bene to plaine vvyth him. And so I pray you let vs go to supper, for I see my seruaunt expecting, yonder, at the Gallerie doore, to cal vs dovvn.

L A V V.

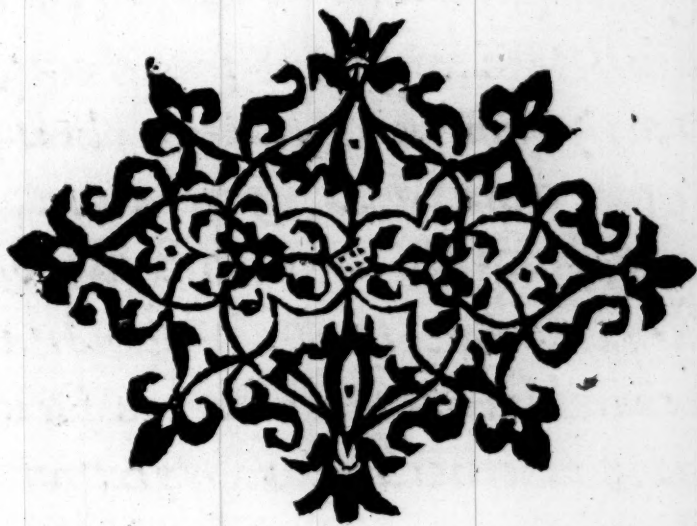
The end
& depar-
ture from
the Gal-
lerie.

To that, said the lavvyer, I am content vvith al my harte: and I vvould it had bene sooner, for that I am a feard, lest anie by chaunce haue ouerheard vs here since night. For my ovpn parte, I must say, that I haue not bene at such a conference this seuen yeares, nor meane to be hereafter, yf I may escape vvell vvyth this: vvherof I am sure I shal dreame this foruthnight, and think oftener of my Lord of Leycester, then euer I had entended: God amend him and me both. But yf euer I heare at other handes of thes matters hereafter, I shal surelie be quake-britch, and think euerie bushe

OF A SCHOLAR OF CAMBRIGE. 199
a thyefe. And vvyth that, came vp the Myftres of
the houle, ro fetch vs dovvn to fupper, and fo al
vvas vvhusht, fauing that at fupper a Gentleman or
two beganne againe to fpeake of my Lord, and
that fo conformable to fome of our former fpeech
(as indeed it is the common talke at tables euerie
vvhere) that the olde Lavvyer began
to fhrink and be ap-
paled, and

to
caft drye
lookes vpon the
Gentleman oure friende:
doubting leaft fomthing
had bene difcouered
of our confe-
rence. But
in
deed, it vvas not fo.

F I N I S.



PIA ET VTILIS MEDITATIO, DE-
sumpta ex libro Iobi. CAP. 20.

HOC scio a principio, ex quo positus est homo super
terram, quod laus impiorum, brevis sit, ex gaudiū
hipocritæ ad instar pūcti. Si ascēderit vsq; ad cœlū
superbia eius, & caput eius nubes tetigerit: quasi sterquil-
niū in fine perdetur, & qui eū viderāt, dicet, ubi est? ve-
lut somniū auolās nō inuenietur, trāsiet sicut visio noctur-
na. Oculus qui eū viderat, nō videbit, neq; ultra intuebi-
tur eū locus suus. Filij eius atterētur egestate, & manus
illius reddet ei laborē suū. Ossa eius implebūtur vitijs ado-
lescētiæ eius, & cum eo in puluere dormient. Panis eius
in utero illius; vertetur in fel aspidum intrinsecus. Diui-
tias quas deuorauit, euomet, & de ventre illius extrahet
eas Deus. Caput aspidum surget, & occidet eum linguam
vipera. Luet quæ fecit omnia, nec tamen cōsumetur. Iuxta
multitudinem adinventionum suarum, sic & suslinebit.
Quoniam cōfringens nudauit pauperes: domū rapuit, &
non adificauit eam: nec est satiatus venter eius, & cum
habuerit quæ concupierit, possidere non poterit. Non remā-
sit de cibo eius, & propterea non permanebit de bonis eius.
Cum satiatus fuerit, arctabitur, aestuabit, & omnis dolor
irruet super eum. Utinā impleatur venter eius, ut immit-
tat in eum (Deus) iram furoris sui, & pluat super illum
bellū suum. Fugiet arma ferrea, & irruet in arcū aureum.
Gladius eductus & egrediēs de vagina sua, & fulgurās
in amaritudine sua: Omnes tenebræ absconditæ sunt in oc-
cultis eius. Deuorabit eum ignis qui non succenditur, af-
fligetur relictus in tabernaculo suo. Apertum erit germen
domus illius, detrahetur in die furoris Dei. Hæc est pars ho-
minis impij, à Deo, & hereditas verborum
eius à Domino.

A GODLIE AND PROFITABLE meditation taken out of the
20. Chapter of the Booke of Iob.

THIS I knowe from the first that man vvas placed vpon earth, that the prayse (or applause) gyuen to vicked men, endureth but a litle, and the ioye of an hypocrite, is but for a moment. Though his pride were so great as to mount to heaven, and his head should touch the skyes: yet in the end shal he come to perdition as a dung-hill, & they vwho beheld him (in glorie before) I shal saye, vwhere is he? he shal be founde as a flying dreame, & as a phantasie by night shal fade away. The eye that beheld him before, shal no more see him, nor yet shal his place (of honour) euer more behold him. His children shal be vvorne out vwith beggarie, and his owne handes shal return vpon him his sorrovv. His (olde) bones shal be replenished, vwith the vices of his youthe, and they shal sleepe vwith him in his graue. His bread in his belly, shal be turned inwardely into the gaule of serpentes. The riches vwhich he hath deuoured, he shal vomit foorth againe, and god shal pull them foorth of his belly. He shal sucke the head of Cocatrices, & the (venemous) tongues of adders shal flea him. He shal susteyne due punishment for al the vickednes that he hath comitted, nor yet shal he haue end or consumation therof. He shal suffer according to the multitude of al his vicked inuentions. For that by violence he hath spoiled the poore, made hauock of his house, and not buylded the same. His vvorombe is neuer satisfied, and yet vwhen he hath that vwhich he desyred, he shal not be able to possesse the same. Ther remaineth no part of his meate (for the poore :) and therefore ther shal remayne nothinge of his goodes. VWhen his bellie is ful, then shal he begin to be straytened, then shal he sweare, and al kinde of sorrovv shal rush vpon him. I vwould his bellie were once ful, that God might send foorth vpon him the rage of his furie, and rayne vpon him his vvarre. He shal fle away from yron vweapons, and runne vpon

The vicked mans pompe.

His ioye.

His prid.

His fall.

His children.

His olde age.

His breade.

His restitution.

His punishment.

His vickednes.

His vickednes.

His grief.

His grief.

His affliction.

His affliction.

His affliction.

His dam-
nation.

His pos-
teritie.

a bove of brasſe. A dravven ſworde comming out of his
ſkabarde ſhal flaſhe as lightnig in his bitterneſs. Al dark-
neſſe lye hydden for him in ſecret: the ſtar that needeth no
kindling ſhal deuoure him, & he ſhalbe tormented alone
in his tabernacle. The offspring of his houſe

ſhalbe made open and

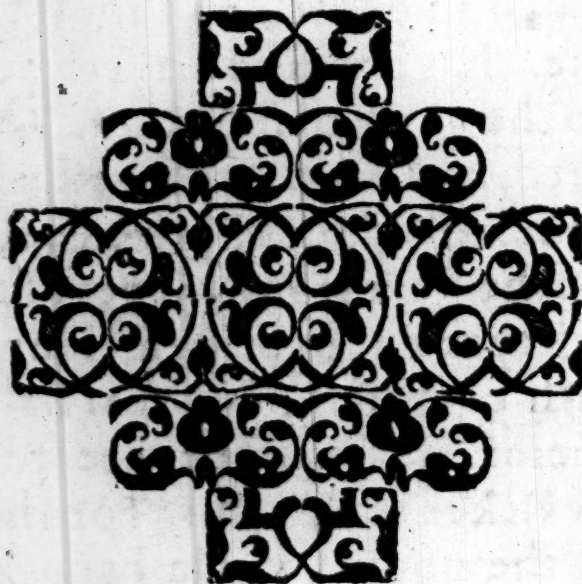
pulled

dovvn

in the daye

of Gods furie.

This is the portion of
a vycked man from God,
and this is the inhe-
ritaunce of his ſub-
ſtance from
the Lord.



m